The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1896.

The Week.

NOTHING more amusing has been seen for a long time than the squirming of the spoilsmen in Congress over Mr. Cleveland's order bringing 30,000 more offices under the protection of the civil-service law, and leaving only a few hundred places, below those filled by Presidential appointment and Senatorial confirmation and above the grade of laborers and scullions, for the politicians to quarrel over. Although the immediate effect of the order is to make many thousands of efficient Democratic office-holders sure of retaining their places if a Republican President comes in next year, Democratic Congressmen who hate "snivel-service reform" abuse Mr. Cleveland for his action. Representative Berry of Kentucky says that "each Administration should be looked after by its friends," while Representative Bailey, a free-coinage lunatic from Texas, says that he has grown tired of criticising the President for his many un-Democratic acts, and contents himself with styling the latest performance "indecent."

Naturally, however, the greatest indignation is manifested by the Republican spoilsmen. Representative Payne of New York says that he was elected to Congress on a civil-service platform, and he "believes in a practical civil-service law," but that the President's order is issued so late in his Administration that "it looks as though he was endeavoring to take an undue advantage of his probable successor." Representative Odell of this State, who hopes that Platt will nominate him for Governor next fall, goes a step further. He declares that he is a believer in the theory that "to the victors belong the spoils," and, although he does not expect to have a great deal of influence with the next Administration if it shall be presided over by Mr. McKinley, yet, for the benefit of the "Republican boys" who do the hard work for the party, he "hopes that the law may be changed or the classifications modified by executive order, so that they may be taken care of." Representative Evans of Kentucky says that he "believes in practical and fair enforcement" of a "good civil-service law," but that it is "a mean political advantage" for the President to take of his prospective successor, to wait until all the offices are filled with friends of the present Administration, and then attempt to close the door so that they cannot be removed or changed. Senator Thurston of Nebraska says he is not familiar with the existing law, but he believes that, if a Republican Administration is inaugurated next March, "ways and means will be devised to overcome the sweeping order of the President."

Most delightful of all is the attempt of Henry Cabot Lodge to reconcile his practice as a demagogue with his professions as a would-be statesman. In the latter capacity he attended the Massachusetts Republican State convention only seven weeks ago, and helped to secure the passage of this resolution:

> "The civil-service laws, which remove the public service from the control of favoritism, patronage, and politics, should be honestly and thoroughly enforced, and the classified service extended wherever it is possible."

President Cleveland's order comes almost like a response to this demand; it extends the classified service "wherever it is possible," for hardly a place is now left outside of it. Lodge the would-be statesman feels constrained to say that he is "a believer in the policy of civil-service reform on general principles," and considers the action of the President beneficial to the service, since all previous extensions of the civil-service law have eventually helped to improve the public service, and the recent order may be expected to have a similar effect. But Lodge the demagogue points out that "there are many persons who will claim that the President has been too sweeping in his latest extension of the classified service"—in other words, in extending it wherever possible; and he contends that, if the next President wishes to reclassify some of the employees who are now protected by the latest order, he will have the power under the present law to do so, since the law that permits a President to extend the classified service also permits another President to curtail or limit the classifications. No reformer, however, need fear that the Lodges, and Evanses, and Odells, and Thurstons will have their way in this matter.

The McKinley boomers show visible signs of uneasiness over the assaults which are being made upon his financial record. Several of them have arrived in town simultaneously, and their explanations of the reasons why he is not able to say exactly where he stands at present fill many columns of the newspapers. They are all able to say that they have no doubt whatever of his soundness on the money question, and that he is "sure to be nominated," but they are all convinced that it would be folly for him to speak for himself now. Why? Gen. Alger explains that point most clearly by saying that the Major "greatly deplores the opposition of the Eastern Republicans, and is fully aware that this opposition springs from a demand that he should come out and signify himself to be a sound-money man. As a matter of fact, though, the silver-men are making the same demands on him to come out and declare himself for them. He must remain silent until the platform is adopted at St. Louis." That is a sufficiently plain explanation. If the Major were to speak now, he would lose the support of either the Eastern delegates or the silver delegates; by keeping still, he hopes to get both, and, after thus securing the nomination, he will let it be known which set of them he has deceived. As Speaker Reed expresses it: "McKinley does not want to be called a gold-bug or a silver-bug, so he has compromised on a straddle-bug." Gen. Alger's explanation is undoubtedly authentic, for not only has he come to us direct from McKinley, but others of the McKinley boomers, who also come to us direct from him, give the same one.

Despite the blare of the McKinleyites that the only issue is sky-high protection, it is the currency plank which continues to cause the hottest fighting in State conventions, and it is the currency plank which anxious business men first turn to as the great sign of the times for them. The Michigan Republicans voted down the mild gold plank offered by their committee on resolutions, and rushed madly off for a kind of weather-vane bimetallism. They did this in the face of Mr. Depew's plain warning that they could not carry New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, or even Massachusetts on such a platform. "Shall we bow to threats like that?" cried the McKinley-mad, silver-mad Republicans, and of course no man was craven enough to confess that he would. The surprising result was to leave the Michigan Republicans, supposed to be sound, on a silver platform, though the Michigan Democrats, thought to be hopelessly gone with the silver disease, had made a death-bed repentance of it and got upon a gold platform. In Indiana, things went better, and the emphatic declaration of the Republican convention against free coinage and for gold will be a decided help in the fight that undoubtedly needs to be made, and to be made earnestly, for a similar deliverance at St. Louis. The New Jersey Democratic currency plank is the strongest one yet written. It is not only as uncompromising as the Connecticut Republican platform in declaring against coinage of silver "at any ratio," and as resolute and outspoken for the gold standard, but goes further than any Republican platform in demanding also the entire divorce of the Government from the banking business, and the retirement of all legal-tender Treasury notes. Thus, speaking broadly, the silver cause is going down in both parties, though the sound-money men in neither can afford for a moment to relax their vigilance or determination.

One of McKinley's managers was asked the other day why the Ohio candidate for

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the nomination at St. Louis does not say whether or not he opposes the free coinage of silver and favors the maintenance of the gold standard. He replied with perfect frankness that McKinley would be a fool to tell how he stood on the financial issue while a lot of delegates were still to be chosen in silver States. The convention in one of these States was held on Wednesday of last week, and the California Republicans showed their interpretation of McKinley's silence by adopting without any opposition a free-coinage platform, and instructing their delegates to support the Ohio candidate as the best man to stand upon such a platform. The same interpretation of McKinley's attitude is made by free-coinage Republicans in other Western States. Silver Republican newspapers reprint McKinley's financial record, and "point with pride" to it as proof that he is against the gold standard and will "do something for silver" if he shall be made President.

The Montana Republicans in their State convention on Monday adopted resolutions unqualifiedly commending the action of Carter and Mantle of their State, Teller of Colorado, Dubois of Idaho, and Cannon of Utah in putting free coinage before the tariff and everything else last winter; but an effort to instruct the delegates to walk out of the St. Louis convention in case silver should not be recognized, failed. It is thus shown in Montana, as Senator Wolcott's attitude showed in Colorado, that an element of the Republican party will support the ticket, no matter what the platform may say. Teller and Dubois have gone too far to retreat, both of them being committed to a bolt if they cannot dictate the platform; but it remains to be seen how large a proportion of the party in the silver States they can carry with them.

The Governor's "memorandum" about the consolidation bill contains mainly reasons why he should not sign it. In short, he shows conclusively that consolidation, as proposed, cannot supply the things which consolidation calls for. He admits, also, not only that no commission to be appointed under the bill can supply what consolidation calls for, but that even if the thing were possible, there would not be time to do it. That is, there is not even time for the commission to attempt the impossible. Then he adds that "this possibility is not a sufficient objection to warrant his disapproval of the bill." Perhaps not his disapproval as Governor, but it would warrant his disapproval as a reasoning man. We are not much concerned about the future of the measure; but we acknowledge a feeling of general regret that the Governor should leave the chair under the suspicion that he has not acted out of his own head about the chief public measures which have come before him—that Platt has been able to use him for his own schemes of selfishness and folly.

The quiet establishment of a branch Tammany in Brooklyn is the first sign that the Wigwam is getting ready to rule Greater New York when the new city shall have been created. There has been a good deal of childish talk about Tammany opposition to consolidation, but it has been noticeable that whenever votes were necessary in the Legislature to pass consolidation legislation, a sufficient number was always forthcoming from Tammany members. Nobody knows better than these shrewd political operators that a large city will be more certain game for them than a smaller one. By having a joint boss-ship—one boss for Brooklyn and one for New York, animated by a common purpose, to plunder the people—the greater Tammany would be far more powerful than the smaller one has been. The decent people of the larger city, discouraged by the magnitude of the city and their own unorganized condition, would be more helpless than ever, and would be even more inclined than ever to say, "Oh, well, what is the use? We are sure to be outnumbered any way, and if we try to get a respectable government, we shall succeed only in showing our weakness." Then, too, by doubling the opportunities of public plunder, the zeal of all the plunderers is doubled also, and their courage and determination to rule will be stimulated by the very conditions which are so likely to discourage their respectable opponents. There will be a great assembling of all the shady political characters of the State, and even of the country at large, in the greater city, for nothing like its possibilities in the way of plunder has yet been seen in this country.

Trustworthy reports from various parts of the State agree in saying that the Raines liquor-tax law is working disastrously for the Republican party. Senator Coggeshall of Utica says its effect is so bad that it will cause the Republicans to lose the State this fall, and many other observers who are as practical politicians as he is agree with him. The law would have been a great political burden for the Republicans to carry if it had been put in force merely as a restrictive measure; but when, in addition to this, it is put in force primarily as a political scheme to give the Republican machine patronage, its effects cannot fail to be harmful. The whole State has been advised, by the way in which Mr. Lyman was permitted by the Governor to appoint his subordinates, that the law is to be "worked for all it is worth" for Platt politics. It is impossible, after this showing, to defend it as a piece of temperance legislation. It will drive from the Republican party thousands of foreign-born voters in all the cities of the State, and thousands of other voters of independent tendencies all over the State, including many temperance advocates.

The recent State election in Louisiana, like the last two elections in Alabama, showed that the Democratic party can no longer command the substantially unanimous support of the white people of the Gulf States. The heavy Democratic majorities came almost exclusively from the parishes in which the negroes constitute two-thirds or more of the entire population. There are thirteen parishes in the State in which, by the census of 1890, there were more than two adult male negroes to every white male over twenty-one years old. Every one of these parishes at the recent election gave Gov. Foster, the Democratic candidate, a majority. In several of them, as Bossier, Concordia, and East Carroll, the vote as returned not only was large, but was practically unanimous. In the whole thirteen there were 11,415 white males over the age of twenty-one, and 37,789 negro males of the same age. In these parishes Gov. Foster's majority was 23,300. There are nineteen other parishes in which the number of negro voters exceeds the number of white, but in no one of which are the negroes more than twice as numerous as the whites. Of these parishes, twelve gave Democratic majorities amounting to some 12,000, and seven gave opposition majorities aggregating 6,600. The net Democratic majority, therefore, in these parishes is 5,400. There are twenty-seven parishes in which there are more white than negro voters. Of these, nine gave Democratic majorities and eighteen opposition majorities. The conditions in Louisiana are like those which have existed in Alabama for the last four years. Kolb, the Fusion candidate, both in 1892 and 1894, carried the white portions of the latter State, but was beaten by the enormous majorities cast or returned against him from the black-belt counties.

The regions in which the Democracy is now weakest are precisely the regions which, during reconstruction days, were most nearly unanimous in their adherence to it. The speed with which this independence of voting among the white people of the South has followed the repeal of the federal election laws and the abandonment by the Republican party of any demand for their reënactment, is surprising. That such a development would, sooner or later, take place when external pressure was withdrawn, was of course natural. It was not to be expected, however, that it would come about as speedily as it has done. Already both parties among the white men are bidding for the negro vote. The necessity of securing the support of the negroes led many Louisiana Democratic politicians to declare against the constitutional amendment by which the negroes would have been deprived of the suffrage. As a result, the

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amendment was overwhelmingly beaten at the polls. Some of the Louisiana papers are bitterly deploring the fact that white men, and Democratic white men at that, did bid for negro votes; but the bid was made, and will unquestionably be repeated hereafter. The white men who have supported the Populist and Republican parties will, sooner or later, find a way to put a stop to the frauds by which they are cheated in the black belts. The negroes, when the whites are divided, will just as certainly be in a position to secure fairer and more generous treatment than they have received in the past.

Henry M. Stanley puts his finger on one great obstacle to the establishment of a system of arbitration between the United States and other nations when he says in the *Independent* that our sensational press is demoralizing the public mind. The morbid appetite that has been fed upon murders of individuals, naturally and inevitably grows to desire the murder of thousands in battle, with all the other concomitants of war. Our press is thus cultivating a taste for war among our people, and in the same measure making peaceful arbitration seem too prosaic for acceptance. This alarming tendency can be seen most clearly by an observer like Mr. Stanley, who is familiar with the United States, and who watches developments in this nation from another country; but it is visible to every thoughtful and candid man here who studies the signs of the times.

Lord Rosebery's talent for clever nagging never had a fairer subject than Mr. Chamberlain's late exploits in diplomacy, and in his speech at Rochdale on April 28 he did them full justice. Chamberlain's was "the new diplomacy," the country had been given to understand, but, new or old, Lord Rosebery maintained, it had been an unparalleled comedy of errors. Frankness and taking the country and the newspapers into your confidence was an excellent thing, but it had its awkward side. The Colonial Secretary invited President Krüger to come to England to discuss the policy England would recommend, and policy and invitation were both given to the public. The result was that the Transvaal instantly repudiated the policy, and said it would answer the invitation when it got ready. The new diplomat was asked in the Commons how he liked this, and cheerfully replied that it was of no consequence whatever. Then what followed?

"Our Colonial Secretary, in a vigorous practice of the new diplomacy, went to a public dinner, and said that the administration of President Krüger, the gentleman whom he had invited to England, and whom he was anxious to conciliate, was eminently corrupt. Well, if that is the method by which the new diplomacy conciliates the person with whom it is negotiating, it is a very new diplomacy indeed. [Laughter.] Then came the refusal of President Krüger to accept the invitation, and now we are told, as the last act in this melodrama, that her Majesty's Government have withdrawn the invitation to President Krüger. [Laughter.] It is, I think, an unusual proceeding with regard to invitations, but it is evidently a part of the new diplomacy that has withdrawn the invitation to President Krüger and sent it to Sir Hercules Robinson instead. [Laughter.]"

All this, be it remembered, was before those fatal telegrams were published by the wicked Krüger. With these transfixing the bosom of the new diplomacy, Lord Rosebery could have made a still sorrier picture of it.

The South African trouble has at last been brought before the House of Commons by Sir William Harcourt, who said the whole story of the invasion of the Transvaal was an "inexpressibly revolting, sordid, squalid picture of stock-jobbing imperialism," and he might have put it stronger. Henry Labouchere did put it stronger, for he called the directors of the South African Company "a gang of shady financiers." In view of the telegrams discovered in Jameson's bag, no doubt remains that the raid was organized and paid for by the company, and that they expected to establish a republic of their own on the ruins of the Transvaal. We observe that Sir William Harcourt takes an entirely different view of Mr. Chamberlain's part in the matter from that of Lord Rosebery. He says Mr. Chamberlain was "surrounded by difficulties, and had shown a courage and decision worthy of his position." Wherein this courage and decision consist, and what made him so popular for some weeks after the outbreak, does not clearly appear. All he did was to disclaim all connection with the raid, and bring Jameson home for a feeble and limping trial. He has not done a single thing or said a single word to bring the authors of the crime to justice. All the evidence which has been supplied concerning the real nature of the transaction has come from Paul Krüger. Mr. Chamberlain feels the force of the telegrams, but falls back on the plea, with which our own sharpers have made us so familiar, that they are not "legal evidence." The truth appears to be that not only did the directors organize the raid, but they fully expected the result to be adopted or condoned by the imperial government. They expected, like the Sons of the Missionaries at Hawaii, to have simply to send an emissary to London to tell the Government about the new republic and about the incompetency and corruption of the Dutchmen. No one can read the history of the company without feeling that the precautions taken by the Boers to prevent their own government, for which they had suffered so much, from being at once taken out of their hands by the swarm of adventurers who were in possession of the mines, were reasonable and just, and that any wrongs which arose under them were sure to be remedied after a while. The miners had only to wait and argue. What made Mr. Rhodes and the company so hasty was their feeling so rich. Everything seems possible and right to a suddenly enriched man. Then, the South African venture was, for England, a peculiarly aristocratic one. "Society" was in it to an extraordinary degree, and it was talked up in all the London drawing-rooms.

There is no reason to think that our latest "war" alarm will prove any more serious than those that have gone before it. Five men, captured upon a filibustering American schooner, have been sentenced to death by a court-martial at Havana. One of them is said to be an American citizen and two others claim to be such. The sentences are to be revised by the Spanish Cabinet, and there are indications that they will be modified. In the meantime, the journalistic warriors are "churning up" the incident in the usual way, by sending out all kinds of bogus news about it. Gen. Weyler is pictured as furious with anger at the attitude of the United States towards Cuba, and as threatening to resign if the sentences are not carried out. One report says he has sent word to Secretary Olney that the prisoners would be executed in spite of the latter's protest; but when the "story" got back to Havana from the United States, it was said that nobody there had heard of its details before. Yet it is upon this, more than anything else, that "war with Spain" is now in progress in the press and in the minds of some of our most thoughtful statesmen and observers. We think it entirely safe to say that hostilities will not begin before the end of the present week, and that whether there be war or not, the Cleveland Administration will see to it that the rights of American citizens are fully protected.

Despite the show of brave words in the speech of the Queen Regent to the Cortes, her references to the Cuban struggle are dispiriting. Misgovernment of the island is tacitly admitted, and the need of sweeping administrative reforms conceded. Yet those reforms cannot even be formulated, much less applied, until the rebellion is suppressed, and that it will be suppressed quickly no hope is held out. It is the fatal drift of things towards complete helplessness, both in Spain and in Cuba, with the ruin of the latter becoming more complete every day, the Spanish debt mounting, claims for loss of property owned by foreigners piling up, that makes the Cuban question so grave. The Queen makes rather nervous allusion to the sympathy and aid accorded the revolutionists by citizens of the United States, yet is able to speak warmly of the "correct and friendly conduct" of our government.

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THE COMPLETION OF THE WORK.

It is almost thirty years since a small party, mostly civil-service reformers, sat down to breakfast in Washington, with the view of introducing their subject to the notice of a few men in public life, one of whom was a United States Senator. The talk of the reformers was rather amusing than otherwise to the public men. The Senator, a very intelligent person, confessed that he looked on it as a Prussian whimsy of some kind, and had to have civil-service reform explained to him. All agreed that the introduction of anything like the competitive system into the United States was a dream which might some day be realized, but not in the lifetime of anybody present. It was the millennium, and the millennium was a thing not to be hastened or too eagerly longed for. No one there really expected to see the reform accomplished. If it ever was accomplished, it was to be the result of an agitation lasting more than one generation, like the anti-slavery agitation.

There is one recipe for the dissipation of the gloom about public affairs which is just now filling the public mind, especially since "Prosperity's Advance Agent" made his appearance on the scene, and that is, looking back. It will be considerably strengthened by observing that to-day this apparently impossible or extremely remote reform is an accomplished fact, within the lifetime of the generation which saw the agitation for it begin. The President's last orders place the whole civil service under the rules, except offices which require confirmation by the Senate. Under Arthur there were 15,773 classified places; under Cleveland in the first term there were 11,757 added to these; under Harrison there were 15,598 added, making a grand total of 43,128 up to the 4th of March, 1893. Since then the additions have gone on gradually increasing, until now there are 85,200 places under the rules, or substantially, as we have said, the whole civil service of the United States, within thirty years from the beginning of the movement.

That the change has been powerfully aided by the example of other countries, especially England, and by its thoroughly democratic character, we do not deny, but the main stimulus to its growth has undoubtedly come from the observation of the working of the new system in all the departments in which it has been tried. It exemplifies, above all things, the truth of the French proverb that "nothing succeeds like success." The system has been extended, in the main, because its usefulness became more and more manifest. Its inclusion of the whole service is one of the best things we owe to Mr. Cleveland, whose retirement from office, to make room for Prosperity's Advance Agent, would be, at this time, nothing short of a national misfortune.

The fact is that the agitation on this subject, as regards the national service, ceased years ago. It may be said to have died out at Mr. Cleveland's election in 1884. Since then the spoils system has had no open defender. Here and there an orator has raised his voice for it, but his words have been received as jests. Of late years the agitation has confined itself mainly to an attempt to get the reform introduced into the State or municipal services. Progress in this field has been hindered by the fact that, as a general rule, State and municipal officers are hostile to it. With some exceptions the places in the State and municipal service are filled by men who are interested in "beating the law"—that is, in preventing its execution by some device or other. The only conspicuous friends it has in public life in this State to-day are the Comptroller, Mr. Roberts, Col. Burt of the Civil-Service Commission, and Mr. Roosevelt of the Police—not counting, of course, the unpaid commission which has charge of the municipal service. None of the others, from the Boss down, venture to denounce it openly, but they curse it privately and treat it scornfully in the Legislature. In all probability it would hardly have found its way into the amended Constitution if the Boss had thought it would pass. He doubtless expected it to be defeated, and the civil-service clause of the instrument is now causing him and his followers great annoyance, and they are fighting against it by every means in their power. But the issue can hardly be doubtful after what has happened in the federal civil service. It is now the American system. Their little systems have their day, but the system under which this nation is to march to its destiny, whatever that may be, is undoubtedly the competitive system.

The Massachusetts Supreme Court, in declaring unconstitutional, the other day, the law giving a preference to veterans in appointments to State offices, passed by the politicians over Gov. Greenhalge's veto, laid down the rule which we confidently expect yet to see adopted and acted on in every branch of the American service, both federal, State, and municipal. Said the court:

> "Public offices are created for the purpose of effecting the ends for which government has been instituted, which are the common good, and not the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men.
>
> "In our form of government it is fundamental that public offices are a public trust, and that the persons to be appointed should be selected solely with a view to the public welfare."

This is the true and only American rule. The use of offices for the reward of services, whether they be military or civil, whether service to the country or service to a party, is forbidden by American polity. We may give a man a money pension, or a suit of clothes, or a mule, or a farm, for having been valiant or patriotic, but we cannot give him an office—for an office is service, and the due service the appointee cannot render unless he is the fittest man.

A WORD TO BUSINESS MEN.

An article in the *Tribune* of Monday morning opens in this way:

> "It would be a great thing for some people and for the country if they could only get hold of the truth that their worry about the money question is unfounded and wasteful. They are gratuitously spoiling business for themselves, and for others as far as they can, by lying awake nights for fear some ghost may carry them off. Are they not able to see, what many millions of 'the plain people' have seen all the time, that the money question is rendered harmless and empty by making the tariff the controlling issue?"

It is evident from these astounding observations that the supporters of McKinley, finding that the weakness of their candidate on the currency question is beginning to be better and better understood, have determined now to turn public attention away from it, as far as possible, and concentrate it on the tariff, the restoration of which they say would of itself, without regard to the currency, initiate a period of great prosperity. We have over and over shown in these columns by facts, figures, and dates, that this currency trouble began while the McKinley tariff was still in operation, and that the condition of the Treasury was extremely bad and getting worse before the defeat of the Republicans in 1892. We have also shown, as well as anything can be shown from human experience, that this is a necessary result, nearly as certain as the tides, of two things: one is Government banking with a fixed volume of paper; the other is the operation of Gresham's law on our stock of gold. The notion that these two things can be cured by a high tariff reminds one of the belief of people in desperate straits that something will "turn up" to avert a certain fate — a belief which is hardly ever wanting. It would be difficult to find among the most ignorant of European peasantry an idea more fantastic and absurd than the idea that there can be a great deal of national prosperity, no matter what the currency may be, through putting high duties on foreign imports.

Our own belief is that the nomination of McKinley at St. Louis will be followed by a period of very great depression, and that his election will cause one of the greatest panics in modern history. There are several reasons for this belief. One is McKinley's own character. The weakness of this is notorious. His closest friends acknowledge that he is singularly unfitted, through personal good nature and kindliness, for a great office like the Presidency of the United States, requiring so much determination and self-confidence. Not only is his character weak, however, but the record shows that during the last twenty years of discussion on the important questions of currency and national credit, he has stood on both sides of them. He supported and opposed free silver coinage. He advocated the silver-purchase act, and gave no support to its repeal. He has declared himself a bimetallist of the incomprehensible variety, and

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he is at this moment backed up both by the Eastern sound-money men and by the Western silver-men, showing that neither know exactly what his position is. From such a man in private life, no sensible merchant would take any advice. He would listen to him about currency as a matter of politeness, but he would not think for a moment of shaping his business ventures by anything he said on the subject, and we should not be at all surprised if McKinley's currency opinions were at this moment a joke in the business circles of Cincinnati. And yet merchants are asked to give money and votes to make this man President of the United States, an office which during the next four years will require two things above all—one is, absolutely distinct and educated views on the laws of exchange, and the other is great force of character.

Another reason is the nature of the crisis. We must beg business men to remember that it does not depend on them which question, the currency or the tariff, shall make itself paramount at the coming election. In all business, as one may say in all civilization, the currency is the main question. You can carry on business for ages without a tariff. You cannot carry it on in a great state for one month without a currency which commands public faith. The *Tribune's* request, therefore, that business men will dismiss the currency from their minds, and think only of the tariff, like so many of our journalistic utterances, savors rather of the nursery than of the market. It is, under these circumstances, a child's prayer. You must think of the currency before anything in the world, or go out of business. You must remember, too, that the currency question you are treating is not so much whether you will use silver or gold. It is not a "battle of the standards" simply. You are now, by incredible exertions and quarterly loans, maintaining a gold standard. A large party in this country want a silver standard, and they do not want a silver standard at par—that is, a silver standard as good as gold, and involving no difference in value, only difference in weight of the metal. They want a silver standard worth only half the gold standard, and threatening all wages, all debts, all deposits in trust companies and savings banks, all rents, all annuities, with 50 per cent. reduction. The adoption of such a standard would, therefore, cause such a panic as has not been seen in modern commercial history except in time of war after an overwhelming invasion, and we believe it would be the easiest thing in the world to persuade McKinley to agree to it, mainly for want of knowledge. He would know no better.

We must finally ask business men to remember that the convention which is to nominate McKinley is not composed of financiers or experts in exchange or currency, and its nomination will be simply advice to voters, and nothing more. When they nominate McKinley, they simply advise you to vote for him. Now, who are the delegates? They are generally shiftless men or professional politicians. The vast majority of them find it hard work to make a living. A large number expect or expected some small office from McKinley. A swarm of them are ignorant negroes from the South. A very large number are simple-minded farmers. Very few if any have any knowledge whatever about business or currency. Probably not more than a dozen or two could get a $500 note discounted at a bank. Such as they are, they are largely influenced by the howls and applause of a large audience, more ignorant or less known than themselves, in the galleries, who have no responsibility whatever. What business man is there who would take the advice of such a body on any point affecting his private affairs—how he should manage them, or what he ought to do? And yet the next Presidential election will, owing to the nature of the issues, be a great business operation. Usually, electing a President is preferring one good man to another, because he is more "magnetic," or was a good soldier, or believes in 50 per cent. on woollens or furs. The next election, on the contrary, will decide what the standing of the United States, and of every man in it, will be in the commercial world for fifty years to come.

Finally, the effect on foreign nations of McKinley's nomination and election will be great. We need not point out to business men the importance of this. To the Dervishes who believe that foreigners sell securities cheap in order to annoy us, we have nothing to say. But large numbers of foreign investors have been waiting to see what we should do about the currency before either selling out or going in. The nomination and election of McKinley will be to them proof positive that we mean to go down into the pit, and reach rationality and sound finance through a panic. Moreover, it is difficult to estimate the blow which his nomination will give the general faith in popular government. Few of those who are "hollering" for McKinley know anything whatever about his connection with the tariff—know whether he drew it, or even understood it—or could tell in what manner he is "Prosperity's Advance Agent," any more than if they were born in Calabria. They are bringing no more intelligence to the work of government than Russians or Moroccans. Think of the effect of this on owners of gold, on prudent fathers, guardians, and trustees.

WHAT THEY DO AT ALBANY.

THE Legislature at Albany usually sits about four months, but the time occupied by the session bears comparatively little relation to the bulk of legislation turned out. As little or no time is now occupied in debate, and measures are generally prepared not in it, but for it—in New York or elsewhere—by those who desire legislation, more measures can now be got through the legislative mill than formerly in the same time. In three or four months the Legislature formerly turned out a single volume of laws; last year it turned out three. There is a significant parallelism (which unquestionably is a matter of cause and effect) between the periods of swollen legislation at Albany and those of dominant corruption and Boss government. A mere glance at the volumes as they stand in order on the shelves of any law library will serve to show this. Until 1866, we find the session laws almost invariably comprised in a single volume. As the Tweed Ring rises to the height of its power the tide of legislation begins to rise with it. From 1866 to 1872 it requires two volumes a year to contain the laws passed at Albany; after 1872 the effect of the reform movement against the ring begins to be felt, and after 1874 that of the new constitutional restrictions upon the power of the Legislature adopted in that year, stopping special legislation of certain kinds, and giving the Governor power to veto separate items in appropriation bills, and the session laws present for several years a very shrunken appearance. In 1878, although the Legislature sat until May 15, only 418 laws were passed, comprised in a volume of 610 pages.

Quite as apparent as the relation between the bulk of legislation and boss government is that between its bulk and the exercise of the veto power at Albany. In 1874 a constitutional amendment was adopted providing that no bill should become a law after the Legislature had adjourned unless approved by the Governor within thirty days, and giving power to veto separate items appropriating money, while approving other portions of the same bill. The years from 1874 until 1876, when Tilden was Governor, and from 1876 to 1879, when Lucius Robinson was Governor, were all one-volume years. They were followed by A. B. Cornell, and the legislation of the next three years is comprised in two volumes for each year. Cleveland followed, and legislation again shrank to one volume, and so remained even under Hill, the legislation during his term of office having been mainly Republican and opposed to Tammany legislators sent up from New York. The veto, too, was still feared under Hill. It was in 1891 that R. P. Flower appeared on the scene as an agent of the new Tammany. In 1892, 1893, and 1894 we go back to two volumes; in 1894 Platt comes into power, and in 1895, for the first time in the history of the State, the legislation of the State appears in three large volumes of over 1,000 pages each. The laws passed this year have not yet been printed; it ought to be a three-volume year.

Few people will be ready to believe that the public business of the State has increased so much in the last ten years that

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we stand in need of three or four times as much legislation now as then; especially as there are some twenty or thirty permanent boards or heads of departments, such as the Board of Health, the Superintendent of Public Works, and the Railroad Commissioners, which transact public business *ipso facto* removed from the control of the Legislature, and when, too, the Constitution has considerably restricted the power to enact special legislation. What is it, then, with which the Legislature occupies itself every year for three or four months, and which, unchecked, produces such an enormous and increasing body of legislation? We ought to find out if we can, for any such annual dose means increased expense and unnecessary and annoying interference with every one's life, liberty, property, and happiness by a body which every one dreads.

To answer this question we have taken a year when legislation was at its minimum, and examined the result to see, so far as possible, what it was that occupied the time and attention of the Legislature. The year 1878 is a good year for the purpose. The Governor exercised the veto power with proper strictness; the Legislature was a better body, too, than it is now--the wave of reform which had swept the Tweed Ring out of existence having had an effect even upon the members at Albany.

The analysis shows that the main work of the Legislature at its best still consists, notwithstanding the constitutional restrictions of 1874, of special acts arranging, managing, and interfering with the affairs of persons, corporations, cities, towns, villages, and counties, all over the State, not on any general plan of legislation at all, but without any plan whatever, and unquestionably in the main in response to the private solicitation of politicians, lobbyists, and others applying for legislation as a matter of favor. These acts go by the name of legislation, but they are not in reality legislative. They establish no rule of action governing the relations of persons to one another, in respect to the State, or to property, contract, life, liberty, or family, and in fact no general rules of any kind. They give money to A, grant to B the right to establish a ferry, relieve C from the operation of a law, authorize the city of New York to establish a park, determine how the city of Brooklyn shall pay for the repavement of an avenue, authorize its Common Council to fix the proper cost of a sewer and pay John McCloskey for it, give the village of Athens the right to lease its ferry property, etc. Three-quarters of the work of the year consists of acts of this sort, and *one-half* of it relates to cities, towns, villages, counties, and corporations. All these acts are *outside* the limits of activity drawn by the constitutional restrictions of 1874. Special legislation within this field has ceased. Outside of it, it runs greater riot than ever.

We have not thought it worth while to analyze the laws of 1895, because the outside of the volumes and the index are enough, without any analysis. "Other than general laws" is the euphemistic description officially given to the whole of volumes ii. and iii. Some 150 of them relate to this city, more than a page of titles in the index to Brooklyn, 125 chapters or so to cities other than New York or Brooklyn; nearly two pages of titles to corporations, a page to towns, another to villages.

There is only one way to remedy these evils, and the diagnosis of the disease shows what it is. Special legislation must be still further restricted, and especially the power of the Legislature to manage the affairs of every city, county, town, village, and business corporation must be taken away by the Constitution itself. That the Legislature will ever cut down its own powers is a mere dream. The moment this is done the volume of legislation will shrink again, and it will be found that the needed work of the Legislature can be got through by a session once every two years at the utmost. Meanwhile it is absolutely necessary that a Governor be elected who will use the veto power.

Illinois resembles New York in having a great commercial and manufacturing capital, while the government is carried on at a political capital in another part of the State. It is, like New York, a populous State, and is filled with a great variety of industries of all kinds, carried on by corporations. It is also full of politics and corruption, and contains what is commonly known as the great wicked city of Chicago. In 1869 its annual product of laws was printed in four volumes, of which three were made up of private acts. In 1870 the Constitution was amended by restricting the power of the Legislature to pass private laws, in every possible way. Among the provisions were clauses prohibiting special acts "regulating county and township affairs, incorporating cities, towns, or villages," or amending their charters, forbidding the creation of business corporations or any alteration of their charters, except by general laws, and finally forbidding the passage of any special act in any case in which a general law could be made applicable. We have a clause in our Constitution adopted for the same purpose, but it is nugatory, because it leaves the whole question whether a general act is applicable, not to the courts, but to the Legislature itself, to determine. Such a provision is of no value.

The courts it is which, applying these provisions, can cure the complaint, because provisions of this sort, adopted in Illinois, most thoroughly put the whole matter in the hands of the judges. Laws such as are prohibited may be passed, but the courts treat them as null, and no one has an interest to procure legislation which has no effect. And now mark the result. The laws of Illinois at the next session after the adoption of the Constitution of 1870 shrank to one volume; from that time to this they have remained in one volume of the size of an ordinary pamphlet. The whole legislation of Illinois for twenty years is no greater in bulk than the legislation of New York would be in three such years as 1895. We have before us the volume for 1895. It contains 350 pages, almost all of general legislation. Under the head of cities, towns, and villages there are sixteen references in the index; under counties, two; under corporations, five; under the head of Chicago not one, and yet the Legislature meets only once in two years.

LITERARY PROPERTY ONCE MORE.

THE question of international copyright has come up again of late in several ways. Action was for a time threatened in Congress, retracing the few and faltering steps we took in 1891 towards recognition of the rights of foreign authors; but the mischief is averted, for the present session at least. Triumphant McKinleyism would doubtless mean a frank and brutal return to the old piratical methods; the foreign artist, writer, engraver, musician becoming again as truly our natural enemies and lawful prey as the foreign manufacturer. Then there is the threat of the new Canadian copyright law, to which imperial assent has not as yet been given. This law is modelled rather loosely upon our own—in some respects it is more generous to the foreign author; but its aim is substantially the same, viz., to compel the publication in Canada of new books sold in Canada, no matter where they are written. It is the manufacture of books that the Canadian printers are bent upon securing as a monopoly, just as it was the manufacture of books that our copyright reformers had to concede to American publishers in order to get any bill at all in 1891.

Mr. Henry C. Lea declares, in a letter to Goldwin Smith (which the latter forwarded to the London *Times*), that this proposed Canadian law is one "of false pretences." This does not refer to the convenient assumption made by the Canadian publishers that they have only the good of Canadian "labor" at heart. Our publishers, Mr. Lea's firm among them, made the same assumption, with at least equal sincerity. The thing really aimed at, affirms Mr. Lea, is the building up of an immense contraband trade over the Canadian border. The book-trade in Canada is too small an affair to be struggled for with this suspicious eagerness; "it is the market of the United States that is really kept in view." This it is which makes the Canadian bill so serious a "threat" to English interests. Why so? Why, American "labor," asserts Mr. Lea, will at once rise up and sweep away our own law of 1891. In other words, the sight of successful piracy and smuggling will be too much for us, and we shall in-

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sist on having a share of them ourselves. Or, to put the matter in another way, we thought we had cleverly got a monopoly of "English interests" in the publishing way, but, if the greedy Canadians are going to stick their fingers in the pie, we shall give up our slight pretence of decency, in the law of 1891, and openly hoist the black flag again.

What the rest of the civilized world thinks of our boasted international copyright law of 1891 may be seen by the allusions to it at the International Literary Conference lately convened at Paris. The United States is still classed with Russia as the two great countries which are barbarian in the matter of refusing adequate international copyright. This is because neither country will unreservedly accept the Berne convention, thus placing literary property on the same basis as other property in private international law, and making the rights and protection of authors entirely reciprocal, among the agreeing nations. Our law of 1891 is thus described by Zola, who, if any writer in a foreign language, should be in a position to profit by it: "In the United States there is, it is true, a kind of convention which gives protection to the works of foreigners, but under such complicated conditions, and through the observance of such vexatious formalities, that it is practically inoperative." If we really want to range ourselves alongside the educated world in the proper recognition of literary property, the thing for us to do is to give in our adherence to the Berne convention. That is what the delegates to the Paris Conference say. That is what we think our own copyright reformers will have to come to. Certainly our present position is one of unstable equilibrium. The Treloar bill and Mr. Lea's warning in the name of the labor organizations show us that the barbarians will not let us keep in peace the little we have won. If we have to make the fight over again, as we almost surely shall, we may as well fight to secure a full suit of civilized clothes, instead of putting up with a silk hat and cane, to go with our blanket and moccasins.

Zola maintains, with justice, that the root of the trouble is really a failure to believe that there is such a thing as literary property at all. He says he has talked with educated Russians who seem high-minded and clear-sighted on every subject except this; but the moment you begin to argue with them that a foreigner is just as much entitled to protection from the laws for his book or play as he is for his wine or silk, they shy off and smile at you curiously: this is really going too far. You seem to them an amiable but unintelligible enthusiast. They have no conception of literary property as a legal thing, an entity, an affair to make statutes and treaties about. It is only a kind of make-believe property. This amused and condescending air, on the part of legislators, in dealing with authors and artists, this entire failure to grasp the idea of a literary or artistic product as property, we see of course to be the true explanation of all such compromising shifts as our copyright law of 1891.

It is tiresome work going over the tedious old fallacies on this subject. But there is one of them, connected with the eye single to the manufacture, as distinct from the writing, of books, that is set in stronger light with the passing of every year. This is the fancy that authors and artists differ from all other producers in being loftily unselfish, in not requiring the ordinary motives of gain to induce them to labor. That is to say, they are supposed to be bursting with great thoughts and fine ideals which they must give to the world, whether the world gives them hard cash in return or not. This conception is at the bottom of all the "manufacture-clauses." Authors are bound to write anyhow; so let us make them get their printing done on our own terms. But the class that lives by authorship, pure and simple, is amazingly small in every country. The vast majority of literary producers earn their daily bread by producing something else. If you cut down their profits by literature, you are not going to compel them to produce more literature to make up, but more of the something else. "Why are you so silent?" asked Catherine II. of Russia, addressing the taciturn Spanish Ambassador. "Madame," was his reply, "in my country men who speak are burnt." Something like that will be the answer of authors to the manufacture-clause logic. In the long run, writers who are pirated or mulcted for writing, will not write.

PARTY POLITICS IN JAPAN.

TOKYO, April 16, 1896.

THE definite alliance between the Government and the Jiyuto has done more for the solidification of political parties in Japan than any other event since the adoption of the Constitution. It has been a long and uncertain work to put order into the chaos, but at last there are signs that the aimless struggle of the past few years is ended, and that parties will now move forward with definite purposes. The more liberal ministers of state clearly recognize the new political conditions under which the Government is placed; and even the conservative ministers, by their opposition, show how much they fear that the old ideal of an independent Cabinet is doomed.

Early in January the members of the Parliamentary Opposition (there was then no Opposition party) introduced an address to the throne making the present ministers responsible for the retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula and the failure of Japan's Corean policy. It was pretty clearly seen that this measure would not pass, inasmuch as the National Unionists—a feeble body, yet holding the balance of power—had determined to unite with the Jiyuto on this occasion in support of the Government. The address was defeated by a heavy majority (170 to 103), but the Opposition members were not disheartened by their failure, as they clearly saw that many of those who voted with the Government were in reality as bitter opponents of the Government's policy as they themselves, and, but for pressure from certain leaders, would have gladly joined the Opposition.

The defeat of the address added stimulus to the revival of the long-discussed question of establishing a united Opposition party. Two difficulties have stood in the way of this union: the first, the selection of a new name for the party; and the second, the question of leadership. The Kaishinto—the oldest, most powerful, and intelligent of the Opposition parties—wished to sacrifice neither its name nor its preëminence. Except for the most pressing necessity, this organization would have preferred its old rôle of being a wrecker of parliaments to losing its title and importance. Even the successful move of the Jiyuto in joining forces with the Government, though it undoubtedly caused a renewal of the cry for the union of the Opposition parties, did not at once overcome the prejudices of the Kaishinto leaders. A new event, however, added zeal to the partisans of such a union. On the 11th of February occurred the Corean *coup d'état*, resulting in the overthrow of the former pro-Japanese Cabinet. The murder of two of the old ministers by the new Corean Government, the attacks in various parts of Corea upon Japanese soldiers and residents, and the entire suppression for a time of the pro-Japanese party, caused a deep feeling of resentment in Japan. It was generally felt that Marquis Ito was tamely submitting to insult in his endeavor merely to keep the peace with foreign Powers. In Parliament several members of the Opposition arraigned the Government as utterly weak, blundering, and faithless. Finally a leading member of the National Unionists (Mr. Sassa) introduced a resolution declaring that the Government did not deserve the confidence of the nation. In this resolution all the mistakes of the Government during the past nine months were detailed, and special stress was laid upon the failure of Japan's policy in Corea.

The Opposition parties were delighted at this turn of affairs. At last they were to secure the adhesion of the National Unionists, without whose aid all possible assaults on the Government must fail. The no-confidence resolution was not even urged by the anti-Government members; it was the voluntary contribution of a party whose declared position was that, though not wholly in agreement with the Government, they would sustain it in all important financial measures. Their feelings were now so strong as to break through every boundary of prudence or silence. The resolution would certainly have passed the House if it had come to a vote on the day it was introduced; but just before the vote was taken, in fact while a member was on the rostrum engaged in showing up the mistakes of the Government, an imperial rescript arrived ordering a suspension of Parliament for ten days. And now ensued one of those changes so characteristic of Japanese politics. The Cabinet used the ten days' interval in pulling the wires so deftly that, at the end of that time, the National Unionists agreed to withdraw their resolution. How this was accomplished is not certainly known, but it is probable that certain ministers of the present Cabinet, who have been identified with the National Unionists, were requested to use all their efforts to stop the anti-Government demonstration of that party. At any rate, at a meeting of the parliamentary members of the party held soon after the issue of the rescript, Viscount Shinagawa, their leader, stated that political con-

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ditions in the East were too delicate and complicated to permit his giving his assent to the passing of the resolution, and he requested the members to withdraw it as soon as Parliament resumed its sitting. This was a bitter dose to a party which boasted that it was the most consistent of all political organizations in the country, and it is said that some of the members of the National Unionists felt so humiliated that they withdrew from the party.

However, on the 25th, when Parliament reassembled, notice was given by Mr. Sassa that he wished to withdraw the resolution he had introduced. The Jiyuto members now had their opportunity. They saw that if they opposed the withdrawal, they would have the support of the Opposition parties, and, when the resolution came to a vote, they could count on the support of the very members who had first moved it; they carried out this manœuvre with complete success, and the National Unionists, who had enthusiastically brought forward the resolution, were now forced to eat their own words by voting against it. Their humiliation was thus complete. Not even the organs of the Government or of their own party spared their ridicule. On the other hand, the defeat of their resolution removed the last obstacle in the way of an amalgamation of the Opposition parties. They had been gradually learning the lesson that they could not hope to command a strong following in the country so long as each party retained its independent organization. Their second defeat in this parliamentary session only emphasized their weakness. All the Opposition parties agreed to dissolve their respective organizations and to establish a new party with a new name. This was called the Shimpoto, or Progressionist party; and the Kaishinto, while sacrificing a title under which it has fought many battles, kept as much of its prestige as possible by adopting a new name in substance similar to the former one. On the 1st of March a celebration was held in honor of the consummation of this political event. The new party claims at least 103 members of Parliament—51 of the former Kaishinto, 33 Constitutional Reformers, 6 Oté Club, 5 Chugoku Progressionists, 3 Financial Reformers, and 5 Independents. The Shimpoto is therefore but little weaker than the Jiyuto. In the manifesto issued soon after its organization the new party holds to the following programme:

"Our party intends to introduce the system of responsible cabinets by the steady pursuit of progressive principles; to assert the national rights by remodelling the Empire's foreign policy; and to manage the national finances in such a manner as to encourage the development of industry and commerce—in short, to attain the reality of constitutional government, thus completing the grand work of the Restoration, enhancing the dignity of the Imperial Court, and promoting the rights and welfare of the people."

In regard to the leadership of the new party, much interest has been expressed, but nothing thus far has been made known to the public. It is more than likely, however, that Count Okuma will retain his position as chief adviser and director of the new party, as he was of the Kaishinto. His experience and ability are universally acknowledged. He has twice been a cabinet minister, and is thoroughly familiar with the details of practical government—an advantage shared by none of the other leaders of the party. He has a capacity for party management (a doubtful virtue, perhaps) in many ways superior to that of any one in the group of statesmen who have been prominent in the Meiji era. Moreover, he has a certain popularity even outside of the limits of his old party, especially with independent voters who cannot identify themselves with his party, yet would like to see him restored to power.

The whole political situation at present in Japan is distinctly better than has yet existed. Two powerful parties dispute the field, while the small remaining third party, though now holding the balance of power, cannot hope to do so much longer. The Government is admittedly depending on the support of one of these parties. It can scarcely hope to remain in power when that support is withdrawn. It has been said that the question of appointing ministers of state was purposely left vague in the Constitution in order that it might be settled by the conflict of political opinion. It was held that political parties must assert and educate themselves so as to establish their claim to recognition by the Government. Only in this way could they acquire the requisite capacity for conducting government by party. If the founders of the Constitution, of whom Marquis Ito was chief, looked so far into the future as this view would indicate, they must acknowledge that the period of preparation is now coming to an end. They must see that the days of the Satcho cabinets are nearly ended, and the day of party cabinets approaching. Even the most recent results of the alliance between the Government and Jiyuto prove that this change is expected. As a reward for the services of the Jiyuto during the present session, Count Itagaki has just been admitted to the Cabinet as Minister of Home Affairs. That such a distinction should now fall to a Radical, and a leader of the Jiyuto who has criticised the present system of government in Japan for over twenty years, would be an absurdity if the ministers of the Crown were not ready to confess that the old system was indefensible. And Count Itagaki, honored and even loved as he is in Japan, would forfeit all the respect he has gained if he could not show that his position was essentially different from what it would have been had he accepted office ten years ago. G. D.

BARRAS'S MEMOIRS.—V.

PARIS, April 20, 1896.

TWO new volumes of the Memoirs of Barras have appeared,* the two last, and complete what is to be remembered of the political career of the Terrorist Viscount de Barras, who left the political stage when he was still young and in full possession of all his faculties. He disappeared in the movement which he had himself prepared, before Bonaparte, whom he always considered his own creation.

The third volume extends from the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor, year v. (September 4, 1797), to that of the 18th Brumaire, year viii. (November 9, 1799). The first *coup d'état* may be said to have been father to the second: *abyssus abyssum vocat.* It was essentially the work of Barras. Gen. Bonaparte helped it only at a distance; he was then in Italy, and he was cautious enough to do no more than send to the Directory, which was in need of support against the rising reaction, one of his lieutenants, Augereau, a coarse and brutal soldier, who hardly understood the questions at issue between the two fractions of the Directory, and between the Directory and the Councils of the Ancients and of the Five Hundred. The history of the *coup d'état* of Fructidor has often been told. Three of the Directors, Barras, Rewbell, and La Revellière, prepared it with Augereau.

"Midnight strikes," says Barras; "Augereau's columns are put in motion. It is ordered that Carnot and Barthélemy be kept under guard in their apartments. Carnot had already fled from the Luxembourg. At daylight I order alarm guns to be fired; the grenadiers of the Legislative Body embrace the troops of the line and fraternize with them. Augereau had drunk a little champagne to brace himself, as if going into battle. . . . His operations frighten the conspirators; the Tuileries and the halls of Assembly of the Legislative Body are closed; guards forbid entrance to them. The Council of the Five Hundred assembles at the Odéon and the Ancients at the Medical School; they declare that the troops and the Republicans have deserved well of the country; laws popular and appropriate to the situation are voted; the Deputies who had conspired, with Pichegru, their chief, are arrested. . . . Not a drop of blood was shed on this memorable day, which saved the country."

Carnot and Barthélemy, who were condemned to deportation, were replaced immediately by Merlin and François de Neufchâteau, two of the ministers. What Barras does not tell us is, that thirty-three members of the councils were condemned to exile; that the laws against the *émigrés* were again put in force; that the Directory dishonored its victory by many acts of private vengeance. The 18th Fructidor was, in fact, the reëstablishment of the Reign of Terror, only in a milder form; the victims were not taken to the guillotine, but sent to Cayenne or to Oleron.

Talleyrand was one of the most ardent supporters of the *coup d'état.* Bonaparte wrote to Augereau September 23, 1797: "The whole army has applauded the wisdom and energy you showed on this essential occasion; it has taken its part in the success of the country with characteristic enthusiasm and energy." Augereau had hoped that the *coup d'état* would be the end of the Directory. "Have we made the 18th Fructidor for nothing?" said he to everybody. "What does Barras mean? Does he think that he must keep his four colleagues? Let him remain alone and live alone in the Luxembourg." Barras, who was sometimes called ironically King Barras, tells us modestly "that he was frankly Republican and had not ceased to be so." He thanked Augereau and Réal, who also urged him to take the whole power in his own hands; he would even have us believe that it was with sentiments of the greatest regret that he had to separate himself from Carnot.

Lafayette had been kept in the prisons of Austria since 1792. Mme. de Staël came to see Barras after Fructidor, and, as some negotiations were being carried on at the time between France and Austria, she asked him to make the liberation of Lafayette one of the articles of the arrangement which was in preparation. "You, dear Barras, who are not made of ice, who have a soul of Provence, such as I like, I address myself to you. . . . You must restore Lafayette to France, to the Republic." The question was discussed in the Directory, and it was agreed that Bonaparte, who was negotiating in Italy with Austria, should demand the liberation of Lafayette. "Bonaparte," says Barras, "accepted with much satisfaction the mission which we gave him." He found some difficulty in the *vis inertiæ* which is the ordinary method of the Austrian policy, but, "finally, *l'avare Achéron* gave up its prey."

Napoleon was sent by the Directory to the Congress of Rastadt, after the peace of Campo Formio. He made a triumphal progress

*'Memoirs of Barras, Member of the Directorate.' Translated by C. E. Roche. Vols. iii., iv. Harpers. 1896.

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through Switzerland. At Bâle the commandant of Huningue made him a speech. This General Dufour, who had hitherto been known as a fierce Republican, said to Bonaparte: "I do not know the forms of oratory. I will not compare you to Turenne or to Montecuccoli; I will merely say, Bonaparte is the greatest man in the universe." Bonaparte was accompanied on this journey by his wife, who was everywhere treated as a queen.

The members of the Directory had received the papers of the Count d'Antraigues, seized at Venice by Bonaparte. D'Antraigues (whose Life has recently been published) was at the same moment agent of the Emperor of Russia and of the French Princes. In the letters sent by Bonaparte, Pichegru was compromised; he appeared like a secret agent of the Prince de Condé. The Directors did not know exactly what to think of these papers. They had become jealous of Bonaparte and suspected his motives. When he came to Paris, "all parties were expecting him, and expected something of him." A great ceremony took place to celebrate the peace; the Directors charged Talleyrand to present Bonaparte to themselves, as negotiator of the peace. Talleyrand praised the young general, not only as a conqueror, but as a servant of the Revolution; he praised also "his love of antique simplicity, his devotion to abstract science; he spoke of his favorite reading, of the sublime Ossian with whom he learned to detach himself from the earth. Talleyrand said, with his grave, serious, and solemn air, what many of the spectators could not hear so seriously, that it would perhaps be necessary some day by solicitation to tear Bonaparte away from his studious retreat."

Bonaparte replied in an entirely different vein; he said only a few words, and ended thus: "When the happiness of the French people is founded on the best organic laws, Europe will become free." What were those best organic laws to be? Bonaparte did not say; the Directors and the spectators, and all Frenchmen who read the words of Bonaparte, were free to make their own reflections on the subject. In that "retreat" of which Talleyrand spoke, Bonaparte became the centre of innumerable intrigues. He was too active to remain quite indifferent to them. He had hoped after Fructidor to be made himself a Director, but he was too young for the post. He soon felt that he had better leave Paris, which was a hotbed of intrigues, and asked to be sent to Egypt.

After Fructidor, Madame de Staël, who had obtained the erasure of her father, M. Necker, from the list of the émigrés, claimed, in his name, two millions which Necker had lent to the King in 1789, but which he had really lent to the nation. These two millions were not paid by the Directory, and the majority of the Directors, imagining that Madame de Staël was always mixed up with some intrigues, ordered her to leave France, as they had a right to do, since she was a foreigner. Madame de Staël went at once to Barras, and he gives us the details of this interview with his usual cynicism. She came first alone, and returned a second time with Benjamin Constant, "who was still sincerely attached to a woman whose celebrity had preceded the celebrity which he desired for himself." Benjamin Constant wrote a defence of Madame de Staël for the Directors (the text of it is found in the Memoirs), and Madame de Staël remained in Paris.

On the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. (January 21) there used to be a national festival. The first had taken place in the year iv., just before the departure of Bonaparte for Italy. In the year vi. he found himself in Paris, after his great victories, but without a political or military post. He was invited, however, to assist in the ceremony. Talleyrand transmitted to him the invitation:

"With a very cold and grave air, he answered that he had no public functions, that he had personally nothing to do with this festival; that, without pretending to discuss whether the condemnation of Louis XVI. had been useful or detrimental, he thought it an unfortunate incident; that national festivals were celebrated for victories, not for the victims left on the battle-field. Talleyrand answered that the anniversary festival of January 21 was just, since it was political; that it was political, since all countries and all republics had celebrated as a triumph the fall of absolute power and the putting to death of tyrants."

After some discussion it was resolved that, as the Institute was going to this festival, Bonaparte should go as a member of that body. Bonaparte was very anxious to leave Paris; he constantly spoke to the Directors about Egypt, and finally obtained permission to form an army in Toulon, and a fleet was placed at his disposal. The Directors learned in rapid succession the news of the seizure of Malta, of Bonaparte's victory in Egypt, and of the defeat of the French fleet at Abukir.

In the absence of Bonaparte, it seems as if Barras's Journal (for his memoirs have almost the form of a journal) becomes a mere account of intrigues. Fouché makes his appearance, and his influence begins to be felt. After the 13th Vendémiaire Barras had given Fouché a temporary mission in the departments of the South; since that time, Fouché had been living almost in poverty with a nun whom he had married (he had himself been a monk). The Directors helped him from time to time with a little money. Barras employed him as a spy, in his private police, and Fouché soon became important to him. He sent him to Italy, with the title of chief agent of the Directory. Fouché began his fortune there. He entered into close relations with Joubert, and concealed his own immorality under the high reputation of that general.

News of Bonaparte's death in an insurrection in Egypt arrived one day at Paris by way of Geneva. Mme. Bonaparte came at once to the Luxembourg, and asked Barras if the news was official. It was not, and Barras reassured his friend Mme. Bonaparte, who had found him surrounded with many people. She wished to speak to him alone, and feigned to be ill.

"I dismissed," says Barras, "the persons who were in my drawing-room, with the exception of my doctor, Dufour. He entered with me an adjacent room, where Mme. Bonaparte had retired. We found her more calm, almost smiling; she had with my doctor the same confidence and frankness as with myself. 'Are all your people gone? Are you free?' She looked round in an uneasy way. . . . 'Well, Barras, is it true that Bonaparte has been assassinated?' 'I believe it,' said I. 'Ah! ah!' said she, 'I breathe. Ah! my friend, if it is so, I shall not be so unhappy with the continuation of your friendship. People have believed that Bonaparte was in love with me, that he married me for this reason; he is a man who never loved any one but himself, himself alone; he is the hardest, the most ferocious egotist that ever appeared on earth. He has never known anything but his own interest, his ambition. You have no idea how he abandoned me. Would you believe it? I hardly have 100,000 francs a year—of allowance, I mean, for Joseph has all the capital in hand, and he pays me my allowance monthly.'"

And so she goes on, if we may believe Barras, speaking of her desire to buy Malmaison, of her debts, of the money she needs, of her diamonds, of which she has, she says, not more than three millions' worth, but which the brothers of Bonaparte would dispute with her if he was dead. She asks him to receive her diamonds on deposit. Barras wisely refused, and advised her to place her diamonds in the hands of her notary—advice which she immediately followed.

Correspondence.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE IN 1770.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In connection with the recent laying of the cornerstone of Columbia College, the following letter of the president of King's College, in 1770, descriptive of that institution, is of interest. It was written to Jonathan Boucher, who for some time had been tutor of John Parke Custis (the stepson of George Washington), and was occasioned by inquiries of Washington as to the best college in this country to which to send Custis. As a result, apparently, of this correspondence, Washington brought the lad to New York in May, 1773, and entered him at the college under the particular charge of Dr. Cooper. Unfortunately, Custis had already engaged himself to Nelly Calvert, had therefore no inclination to study, and, after only six months of study, he returned South and promptly married. In his disappointment Washington wrote (December 15, 1773), as follows to President Cooper:

"The favorable account, which you were pleased to transmit to me, of Mr. Custis's conduct at college, gave me very great satisfaction. I hoped to have felt an increase of it by his continuance at that place, under a gentleman so capable of instructing him in every branch of useful knowledge. But this hope is at an end; and it has been against my wishes, that he should quit college, in order that he may enter soon into a new scene of life, which I think he would be much fitter for some years hence, than now. But having his own inclination, the desires of his mother, and the acquiescence of almost all his relatives to encounter, I did not care, as he is the last of the family, to push my opposition too far, and I have therefore submitted to a kind of necessity.

"Not knowing how his expenses at college may stand, I shall be much obliged to you if you will render me an account of them. You will please to charge liberally for your own particular attention to Mr. Custis, and sufficiently reward the other gentlemen, who were engaged in the same good offices. If the money I left with you is insufficient to answer these purposes, please to advise me thereof, and I will remit the deficiency.

"I am very sorry it was not in my power to see you whilst in these parts. I thank you very sincerely, Sir, for your polite regard to Mr. Custis during his abode at college, and through you beg leave to offer my acknowledgments in like manner to the professors."

Paul Leicester Ford.

King's College, New York, 22 Mar. 1770.

My dear Sir:

I hold myself much obliged to you for good Will, as well as good offices, towards this College, as instanced in your Conduct respecting Mr. Custis and I am under still weightier obligations, when I consider your very friendly Suspension of Belief, with Regard to some Reports, which, you tell me, have been circulated in your parts to our prejudice. I am conscious that we have Enemies in abundance—that every Dissenter of high principles, upon the Continent, is our Enemy—that many of their Missionaries, from the Northern into the Southern provinces, make it their Business, nay, have it in charge from their masters, to decry this Institution by all *possible* means; because they are convinced, from its very Construction (being in the Hands only of Churchmen—which is very far indeed from being the Case of any other College to ye northward of Virginia,—and I know of none to the southward of

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it—they are convinced) that it must eventually prove one of the firmest Supports to ye Church of England in America.

Hence there arose an opposition coeval with ye College itself,—or, rather, with the very first mention of an Institution so circumstanced which hath been continued, without Interruption, to this very day, with much Resentment, Inveteracy, and Malice. The College of New Jersey—and those of New England—were already on their own sole direction, and yet they could not be satisfied that ye poor Church should have any Influence in one: not that Dissenters of any Denomination are excluded from either Learning or Teaching; nay, we have educated many and have several at this very Time, who do Honor both to us and themselves.

However, oweing either to the very Opposition, or to our own Care & Circumspection,—which may, perhaps, have arisen from the former—our numbers yearly encrease, and our present Apartments overflow. It would ill become any one, to boast of the Advantages enjoy'd by a Seminary over which he himself presides: but I will venture to affirm, that, with Respect to *Discipline* (which, it seems, is one heavy Accusation exhibited against us,) we are far from being outdone by any College on the American Continent: and I *know* of none in Europe, to which, in this Article, we are really inferior. Add to this, that the Expence however such Things may be magnified by our Adversaries, is not half so much as at any of the latter; and, I believe very little, if at all, more, than at *most* of the *former*. Our Tuition is only five pounds—one Dolr passing for 8 shillings New York Currency; Room-rent four; and Board, including Breakfast, Dinner and Supper, at ye Rate of eleven Shillings a week, for ye Time each Student is actually in College. These, (saving Fire-wood, Candles, & washing, which must be had every where) are the principal Expences, indeed almost the only ones, of the truly Collegiate kind: *others*, indeed *may* run higher—as in Dress, and *sometimes* in Company, than they do at Colleges in the Country; tho' even These will not be materially different to a Student of *real gentility*: For such an one will chuse to appear handsomely—habitual in all situations; and when he *does* go into Company, he will chuse the best for his Associates.

With regard to our plan of Education, it is copied, in the most material parts, from Queen's College, in Oxford; with the wh [ole (?) *torn*] System of which, (having been for many Years, both Learner [*torn*] in that Seminary, with the Character of which you are by no means unacquainted,) I looked upon myself as perfectly familiar.

The young Gentleman's Guardian may rely on every Thing in my power for his Ward's Emolument; but as my turning *private Tutor* as it were—it seems to me so inconsistent with my office (whatever others in my Situation may think of it) that I must beg to be excused. But I repeat—That I will shew Mr. Custis every mark of Care & Attention, and see that his other Teachers shall do the same.

I have only to add, that I *wish* he may be here in June,—as we do not admit pupils when absent—that I beg my best Respects to Coll. Washington, whom I shall be exceedingly happy to wait upon in New York (your self, I hope, in Company)—and that I am, Dr Sr yr affn Friend

and very obedt Servant &c.

M. Cooper.

I hope you will have patience with me—at present I suffer much by a severe Fit of the Gravel.

Notes.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have arranged for the American publication of the unpublished Letters of Victor Hugo, in two volumes. They are addressed to his father, his wife, his daughter, to Lamennais and Sainte-Beuve; and, in exile, to Ledru Rollin, Lamartine, Mazzini, and Garibaldi.

Prof. McMaster's 'With the Fathers' and Prof. F. W. Taussig's 'Wages and Capital' are on the point of being issued by D. Appleton & Co.

'The Tale of Balen,' a new and long poem by Algernon Charles Swinburne, is in the press of Charles Scribner's Sons.

Henry Holt & Co. announce 'The Quicksands of Pactolus,' a story of San Francisco, by Horace Annesley Vachell, and 'In the Valley of Tophet,' by Henry W. Nevinson.

In book form, Mr. James Lane Allen's *Cosmopolitan* serial, '*Butterflies*: A Tale of Nature,' will bear the imprint of Macmillan.

Brentano's will publish directly 'Bicycling for Ladies,' by Maria E. Ward, fully illustrated.

The Bowen-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, have just ready 'The Trent Affair: A Review of the English and American Relations at the Beginning of the Civil War,' by Thomas L. Harris, A.M.

A new book of verse, 'Songs of the Soul,' by Joaquin Miller; 'The Pacific History Stories,' retold by Harr Wagner; and 'Care and Culture of Men,' by David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford, Jr., University, are about to be issued by the Whitaker & Ray Co., San Francisco.

An English version of the late James Darmesteter's 'Nouvelles Études Anglaises,' edited by his wife as we remarked the other day, is to be brought out in London by T. Fisher Unwin.

We have already noticed the translation, issued in England, of Sonia Kovalevsky's novel, 'Vera Vorontzoff,' or 'Vera Barantzova.' It has now appeared in this country in a new translation by Anna von Rydingsvärd (Baroness von Proschwitz), under the imprint of Lamson, Wolffe & Co. The American edition is a very pretty piece of book-making.

'The Mathematical Papers Read at the International Mathematical Congress' (held in connection with the Chicago Exposition) has appeared as vol. i. of the Publications of the American Mathematical Society (Macmillan); a guarantee fund for the cost of publication having been contributed by that society and some other mathematicians. The volume has the usual handsome appearance of Macmillan's books. Among the contributors of papers are Klein, Weber, Minkowski, Hilbert, Hurwitz, Study, and others, besides the Americans. The brief account by Klein of the present direction of mathematical investigation will be found to be of interest to those (professors of mathematics even) to whom most of the volume is a sealed book.

Dr. Levi Seeley has brought together a great many interesting and instructive facts in his 'Common-School System of Germany' (New York: E. L. Kellogg & Co.), but his attempts to apply German methods in detail to the solution of American problems are not so happy. The system of school organization by "districts," in rural communities, and by "wards," or single schools, in cities, is unanimously condemned by our best authorities. Everywhere the tendency among progressive communities is to make the township, the county, and the municipality the units for educational organization and control. Germany can learn from us in this respect, rather than we from her. Nor is it correct to imply (p. 192) that in American cities there is, as a rule, any uncertainty as to the teacher's tenure. In the cities that Dr. Seeley cites as examples it is far too difficult to get rid of bad and inefficient teachers; their tenure is too secure. The chief lessons that we may learn from Germany are (1) the necessity for a high professional standard in the training of teachers, (2) the value of close and constant expert supervision, and (3) the substitution of teaching, or instruction, for "hearing lessons" in the class-room. In most other matters, notably as regards the Kindergarten (pp. 225–231), our best elementary schools are far in advance of the average of those found in Germany.

The striking articles on Vives, Ascham, Mulcaster, Milton, Locke, and other English writers on education, contributed to the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement* by M. Jacques Parmentier of Poitiers, have been brought together in a volume entitled 'Histoire de l'Éducation en Angleterre' (Paris: Perrin). Most of these men were sages rather than educators, and their reflections on education are marked rather by practical wisdom than by scientific insight. Yet a debt of gratitude is due them for holding up a clear educational ideal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and so preparing the way for the more technical and detailed discussions that have sprung up since. The closing chapter of M. Parmentier's book is a tribute to the character and services of the late R. H. Quick, editor of Mulcaster and author of 'Educational Reformers.'

Dr. O. Laurent of Brussels, a voluminous writer on medical and educational subjects, has compressed into some 250 pages a miscellaneous assortment of information with the title 'Les Universités des Deux Mondes' (Paris: Alcan). The illustrations are interesting, but the book itself is more like a catalogue than a contribution to literature.

One can but praise the idea of Dr. Clemens Klöpper's 'Real-Lexikon der Englischen Sprache,' of which the first instalment is before us (Leipzig: Gebhardt & Wilisch; New York: Lemcke & Buechner). This work aims, above all, to meet the need of a better knowledge of England and Englishmen arising from increased contact by reason of Germany's colonial expansion, but also it is to assist in correcting misconceptions and supplanting downright ignorance even among the lettered class. Hence, besides being a legal, commercial, political and institutional encyclopædia, and a select gazetteer, it is a reader's handbook. We find not only Abernethy Biscuit, Aborigines' Protection Society, Adrian's Wall, Adullamites, African Lake Co., Agitation (O'Connell), *Academy*, Advertisements (with sample forms of birth, marriage and death notices), Agony Column (with choice instances), but also Abel Shufflebottom (Southey's pseudonym when publishing his 'Amatory Poems'), Admirable Doctor (Roger Bacon's title), Adriel (in Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel,' identified with John Sheffield), St. Agnes' Eve (but with no mention of Keats), etc., with a hint of a questionable literary perspective on the part of the editors. America is expressly excluded from consideration in this work, yet the only Abolitionists defined are the younger generation, on this side of the water; the present *Lieferung* ends with *Alabama* Claims; and Mr. John Fiske is enumerated in the past tense with Spencer and Huxley as Agnostics, of which the definition is singularly beside the mark. The English is in general very correctly printed, but Aggression is out of place by being spelt with one *g*. A similar lexicon for France is announced for simultaneous issue by the same firm.

Soon after the promulgation of the Jules Ferry educational laws of 1881, there sprang up in France a not inconsiderable literature, emanating from the pen of such writers as Paul Bert, Ch. Bigot, J. Simon, Liard, Marion, Compayré, and others of similar prominence, whose aim was to meet the necessity of some sort of moral instruction in the lay schools. Quite recently the same want, still

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unsatisfied, has given rise to a new growth of publications, differing from the earlier ones of a dozen years ago by their more immediate adaptation to the needs of teachers and pupils. A score of such "livrets de morale" are noticed in the April issue of the *Revue Pédagogique*. The idea of inculcating moral notions by means of special devices is sometimes scouted, but the problem which the French schoolmen are just now making such earnest and intelligent efforts to solve is a serious one and confronts modern society everywhere. This new class of educational literature deserves, therefore, to be noted as both meritorious and auspicious.

In the *American Anthropologist* for May, Mr. J. Walter Fewkes has an interesting article upon the "Prehistoric Culture of Tusayan." It is based upon an exploration of the ruined Moki village of Sikyatki; and so far as the pottery is concerned, his conclusions are, to a certain extent, in line with what H. C. Mercer ('Hill-Caves of Yucatan,' p. 165) tells us of the probable use of the wheel by the prehistoric potters of Yucatan. Speaking of the superiority of this ancient ware over modern Pueblo work, Mr. Fewkes says: "While there is no evidence of the use of the potter's wheel in ancient Tusayan, I believe that the symmetry of old food bowls was brought about by revolving the unfinished object around the hand, and that the principle of the potter's wheel was recognized and made use of in ancient as in modern fashioning of ceramic ware."

Mr. Edward W. James of Richmond continues, in the third number of his *Lower Norfolk Co., Virginia, Antiquary*, his pursuit of historic truth in a spirit which we look to see emulated by the new Southern History Association. He reprints from the *William and Mary College Quarterly* his census of slave owners in Princess Anne County in 1810, showing 3,926 slaves owned by 646 heads of families (against 421 non-slaveholding heads). What is curious is, that nine slave-owners on the list were free negroes, with a total holding of fourteen. From a document of May 1, 1728, it appears that a negro nine years old was declared "a tythable." Two documents relating to public schools (in 1728 and 1736), and an account of the eccentric Gen. Charles Lee, will attract attention. The *Antiquary* may be had of J. W. Randolph & Co., Richmond.

The *Tour du Monde* has begun the publication of a complete list of important exploring expeditions and journeys by distinguished travellers, which (*a*) were completed in 1895, (*b*) are now in progress, and (*c*) will start in 1896. Out of more than one hundred entries in which the objects of each expedition, its personnel, dates of departure or arrival, or the latest news is given, twenty-nine were of journeys in Africa, chiefly in the Congo Basin, twenty-two in Asia, mostly in central Thibet and the region of the headwaters of the Irrawaddy, the Yangtse and Mekong rivers, nineteen in America, ten in the polar regions, and seven in Oceanica. France and Germany are most largely represented in the list, there being only ten American and five English expeditions chronicled. Among these are the journeys of Mrs. Beaumont in Alaska and Miss Kingsley in West Africa, who are, apparently, the only ladies that have travelled alone. An interesting and growing feature of the explorations of the present time is the commercial expedition sent out for the purpose of investigating the trade resources of half-civilized countries. In China there have been several missions of this character, French, German, and Russian, and in the Transvaal a French one. The list also contains short notices of recently deceased travellers.

The Magyars on the eve of their millennium form the subject of a suggestive article in the *Annales de Géographie* for April, by M. Éd. Sayous. He draws attention to the fact that it is not the Hungarian people as a whole who begin this month to celebrate this unique anniversary, but only the dominant half of a population of some fifteen millions. They are dominant, not through wealth, station, privileges, or even numbers, but through their language. For their extraordinary increase, from two millions in the time of Maria Theresa, and four millions fifty years ago, to nearly eight millions now, is due not to the natural laws of increase, but to their absorption of other races —Germans, Slavs, and Rumanians. The definition of a Magyar, then, is "a man of any race to whom the Hungarian language has become the mother-tongue, and who makes of that language the banner of his patriotism." Naturally the language itself shows the influence of this absorption in the vast number of German, neo-Latin, and Slav words which it contains, these last being used to express religious ideas. Referring to the part which the Hungarian played in stemming the Ottoman invasion, the author believes that his future may be not less useful mainly because he opposes the conception of a nation to that of a race which so largely rules in Eastern Europe. Among the marks of material and intellectual progress are the multiplication and improvement of the means of communication, both railways and highroads, the growth of all kinds of industries, and the increasing interest of the people in education and literature. There are now in Hungary 2 universities, 13 academies, 150 gymnasia, and 70 normal schools for the instruction of teachers; 676 periodicals in the Magyar language are issued in addition to 187 in other tongues, and the annual product of the Magyar press is 1,500 volumes. Among other articles in the *Annales* is one on the economic situation of Cuba. A hypsometric map, from Russian sources, of the region about the Carpathians is an unusually beautiful piece of workmanship.

Recent topographical sheets, prepared by the U. S. Geological Survey for various parts of the country, continue to increase the great store of information accumulated in our national map. Almost any sheet taken up at random excites an interested comment on the physiographical features that it represents. The Oriskany (N. Y.) sheet includes a large part of the "long level" in the floor of the Mohawk valley, welcome long ago during the construction of the Erie Canal, and explained in recent years by Gilbert as the path of the ancient overflow of the expanded Lake Ontario. A little to the south rises the strong escarpment of the Allegheny plateau, a thousand feet above the valley floor. The wild, uncivilized country along the boundary of Virginia and West Virginia is exhibited in the Tazewell sheet, a confusion of digitate hill-spurs, between branching and sub-branching valleys. Several sheets for Florida illustrate the "sink-hole" style of drainage prevalent in the low-lying, calcareous region of that State. The wonderful dissection of the Absaroka range by deep valleys is shown on the Ishawooa (Wyoming) sheet. The extraordinary flatness of the prairie in South Dakota appears on the Aberdeen sheet, where the surface lies at 1,300 feet for many miles together, interrupted only by occasional narrow and shallow valleys. The bold ascent from Lake Superior to a swampy plateau, 800 feet above the lake, is well brought out on the Duluth sheet.

The departments of geology in our colleges will welcome the announcement that a new general geological map of England and Wales, prepared by the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom, is nearing completion. It is in thirteen sheets, on a scale of four miles to an inch. Seven of the sheets have now been issued, five are in the engraver's hands, and the one remaining will soon be prepared. The sheets have heretofore been colored by hand and sold at 10s. 6d. apiece; but one sheet has now been produced by color-printing, and sold at 2s. 6d., and the sale of this sheet justifies the expectation that this new system of publication may be continued and extended. As this would mean a reduction in the price of the whole map from about $35 to $8, it may be safely said that it will cause a ten-fold increase in its sale in this country, if that is of any consequence.

At the International Women's Congress which will meet at Berlin during the fourth week in September, every imaginable interest of the woman movement will be duly represented. The programme arranged for the seven days' session comprises addresses, reports, and discussions covering more than thirty different topics connected with woman's work and endeavors. An inspection of the exhibit of charities at the Industrial Exposition, which will then be open, is also planned.

—General du Barail, who has been publishing a brilliant and interesting series of "Souvenirs" in the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, reaches in the current number the epoch when the royalists were busy in their preparations for the return of the Comte de Chambord and the restoration of the monarchy. At that time General du Barail was Minister of War in the Broglie Cabinet, and, although he paid much more attention to the army than he did to politics, he had a general knowledge of what was going on, gathered from his daily talks with Marshal MacMahon. Not a word as to the royalist plans was spoken in the Cabinet, until one day, just after the return of M. Chesnelong from Salzburg, M. Ernoul asked Barail point-blank how the army would behave in face of a restoration of the monarchy with the Comte de Chambord. Barail answered at once that the army would obey, without reserve and without hesitation, the orders of the Marshal-President. "And . . . the white flag?" "Oh, *mon Dieu!* I have such confidence in the discipline of the army as to believe that it will stand even the white flag if it be imposed upon it." At these words an icy silence set in, which was broken at last by the Duc de Broglie's saying: "*Subir le drapeau blanc!* What do you mean by those words, General?" Barail answered that it seemed to him that his words explained themselves, and asked in turn whether any one imagined, perchance, that the army would receive the white flag with shouts of joy. The army, he said, holds to the national colors; and it holds to them all the more strongly because at the present moment they are stained by defeat. Then, addressing the Marshal, he recalled to him how, in 1830, the sight of the tricolor had the immediate effect of deciding the troops to make common cause with the insurgents. The Duc de Broglie, who agreed with General du Barail, made no answer, but M. Ernoul replied, saying that Barail misunderstood the feelings of the masses. After the sitting, Barail was summoned to the President, who began to talk with him about

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matters in general; but Barail came to the point at once by saying that he imagined that the Marshal might wish for his resignation. "No," MacMahon answered, "they asked for it and wanted Ducrot put in your place, but I told them that I would answer for you as for myself. *Mais, sapristi! vous n'êtes pas avocat, vous!*"

—'Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française, des Origines à 1900' (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie.) is the title of a new and very important work, the first two parts of which, an instalment of two hundred pages, have just appeared, under the direction of L. Petit de Julleville. It is the work of a group of scholars, specialists in certain lines of literature and language, and, as these last words indicate, the close union between the language and the literature is significantly marked. A third feature commends it further: the due recognition of mediæval literature, which receives a full share of attention. These three points are the fruit of the changes in views and methods which have been steadily becoming more and more prominent for years past, and one cannot but feel profoundly grateful to find them all combined in one work which, when completed, promises to be the fullest and most serviceable history of French literature yet produced. The names of the collaborators are a sufficient guarantee that the spirit in which the work has been planned and in which it will be carried out is the spirit of the most scientific modern school. Every one of the writers has made his mark; and while it is impossible, as well as needless, to mention all, a glance at the table of contents of the first two volumes, which cover the period of the Middle Ages, shows how intelligently the work has been distributed. The history of the language falls to Ferdinand Brunot; Petit de Julleville takes the narrative religious poetry, the later poets of the Middle Ages, and the drama; Léon Gautier, the Chansons de Geste; Clédat, the Arthurian romances and the poems of Marie de France; Sudre, the Fables and Roman du Renard, and Bédier, the Fabliaux; while Gaston Paris has written a preface to these two volumes which is one of the most instructive and thoughtful works that have come from his pen.

—Again, it is quite evident from the perusal of the first part—even did the prospectus not state the fact explicitly—that the aim of the writers is not to give the public the impression the works have made upon them individually, but a clear understanding of these works and an accurate knowledge of exact facts concerning them. This is unquestionably a great step in advance in a general history. This one will furnish ideas and documents and not merely opinions and impressions. The addition of a bibliography is a *sine qua non*, at the present day, and the new work has this necessary portion well attended to in a *select* bibliography, while the illustrations are not fanciful but exact transcripts of contemporary documents. It is interesting, but regrettable, to note that the division of literature into chronological epochs is maintained; the old classification into Middle Ages, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries figuring here as in Nisard, Albert, Faguet, or stale Demogeot. As the progress made in the scientific study of literature is recognized in the allocation of special subjects to special authors, it is a pity that the arbitrary division founded on broad chronology has not been abandoned in favor of one based on the periods covered by the great literary schools. In amount the Middle Ages get a fair share—two volumes; the same being given to the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, while the sixteenth and eighteenth are to have one volume apiece. The first parts, which have come to hand, contain the preface, and the first two chapters, "Poésie narrative religieuse" and "L'Épopée nationale." The introduction, "Origines de la langue française," is to comprise eighty-two pages, and will appear when the first volume is finished.

—Lovers of Wordsworth and his family will welcome the new edition of Dora Wordsworth's 'Journal of a Few Months' Residence in Portugal and Glimpses of the South of Spain' (Longmans). Apart from the interest attaching to Mrs. Quillinan's book as the only publication of the poet's daughter, its pages have a more definite value. The last half-century has altered conditions of life in Portugal as everywhere else, and this simple narrative vividly depicts a bygone order of things. The greater part of the invalid's stay in Portugal was spent in Oporto, where she saw something of the natives, but more of the society of the English colony of wine-exporters, to which her husband by birth belonged. She describes at length a tour made from Oporto among the old cities in northern Beira (the cradle of the Portuguese national monarchy) like Braga and Guimarães, during which she had a better opportunity to study Portuguese life and to observe the characteristics of Portuguese scenery. From Oporto, when the winter was over, she went by sea to Lisbon, where she visited all the sights of the Portuguese capital, and from which she made the usual excursion to the beautiful city of Cintra. From Lisbon she travelled with her husband and stepdaughter through the south of Spain, visiting Cadiz and Gibraltar, Seville and Granada. She was by her long friendship with Southey sufficiently versed in Portuguese history and literature to appreciate intelligently what she saw about her, and this differentiates her book from the jottings of ordinary tourists. Considering the greatness of Herculano, the one famous scientific historian whom modern Portugal has produced, and the father of the Portuguese historical school, it is curious to read the following passage written about him in 1846, when he was still known only as a poet and journalist. "The history of Portugal," says Mrs. Quillinan, "the most romantic of histories, is still unwritten; so we must console ourselves with such a one as we may get from Senhor Herculano, librarian to the king-consort. He is a hater of the English, because the burgesses of Plymouth did not discover that a man of mark had come among them when he did them the honor to make their town his place of exile for a few months or weeks, I forget which, when Don Miguel was King absolute, many years ago. He has never forgotten the neglect, but has made for himself opportunities of abusing us, through the periodical press of Lisbon, in articles magnanimously signed with his own name. We will forgive him all that nonsense if he will truly and honestly digest the materials open to him, and give us an orderly and dispassionate compilation of facts" (p. 186). Certainly Herculano more than justified Mrs. Quillinan's hopes in his admirable history of mediæval Portugal.

—The history of the Ptolemies in Egypt is gradually assuming body and precision in many details by the aid of recent discoveries of papyri. The latest publication of these in England is Mr. B. P. Grenfell's collection, entitled 'Greek Papyri, Chiefly Ptolemaic' (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan). This little volume is a sequel to the editor's 'Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus,' with their supplements, and contains chiefly the editor's discoveries for the winters of 1893 and 1894. The fragments are mostly records of wills, loans, and other business transactions belonging to the first and second centuries B. C., and containing in their dry detail much that illustrates the business, the civic and domestic life of the Egyptian people. A good instance of this is seen in the will of Dryton (126 B. C.), which distributes his property between his son, his second wife and her five daughters according to minute and reasonable provisions, and with an apparent freedom and security which are highly creditable to the civil administration of the period. The list of articles bequeathed to the women is curious, viz., two female slaves, a vineyard with walls of burnt brick, two dove-cotes, one of them unfinished, a wagon and ox, together with other more valuable real and personal property. The concluding sentence is highly interesting, and guarantees to Apollonia, the testator's second wife, all sums earned by her during his lifetime. That Apollonia was a clever business woman is attested by three other documents, which record loans by her of wheat, or money, the latter at the rate of 60 per cent. for one year, double the prevailing rate of the period. It is a curious fact that, in the face of so many chances, several documents relating to this family should have survived, as well as the second and the third will of Dryton. To these domestic details we may add an extraordinary piece of gossip from the Byzantine period (fourth century A. D.), a letter from Artemis to her husband, Theodorus, a soldier. She prays that he may come back to her safe and sound, and encloses to him a letter which she had addressed to a certain Sarapion. In this last—the Greek of which is as rude as the manner—she gives Sarapion a "piece of her mind," and informs him that his daughters are no better than they should be.

—The most important documents from an historical point of view are the record of a sale of land by a certain priestess to her husband (114 B. C), and of a transfer of land by Sebtitis to her daughter (109 B. C.). Each of these fixes the date of the transaction by a preliminary list of the first ten Ptolemies, including, as VI., Eupator and as VIII. Philopator Neos, whose reigns have been disputed by M. Revillout and others. As long ago as 1852, Lepsius had arrived at the truth, basing his conclusions on the evidence of hieroglyphic inscriptions and demotic texts. This evidence is now for the first time confirmed from purely Greek sources. Finally, we may mention an interesting literary discovery, a fragment of an Alexandrian novel written somewhat later than 174 B. C., in which some love-lorn damsel laments the desertion of her lover, with a genuine touch of passion and pathos. The style is poetic and rhetorical, consisting of rapid staccato sentences. The language and the situation remind one of Simætha in the incantation scene of the second idyl of Theocritus. This dithyrambic fragment, of little more than twenty-five lines, is written on the *verso* of a papyrus which prosaically records the loan of 100 artabæ of wheat (174 B. C.).

LECKY'S DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY.

Democracy and Liberty. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1896.

THE title selected for this book does not give

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a very clear intimation of its contents, which embrace a discussion of the effect of universal suffrage on representative institutions and on liberty; the limits of State interference; Socialism and Socialist political economy; Church and State; popular education; woman suffrage; the eight-hour movement; divorce; Rousseau's theories; the Australian ballot; the referendum, and a host of other questions about which public interest is aroused in different parts of the world, and which together may be regarded as forming the network of problems affecting Liberty woven by the tireless loom of Democracy. On nothing which the author discusses does he fail to throw some light, often very brilliant. His clear and interesting style gives attraction to the driest topics, and his impartiality of manner disposes you to accept his verdict, even when it is directly opposed to all your preconceptions and prejudices. In a review it is impossible to touch upon more than one or two points.

To our mind, Mr. Lecky's most important and novel present contribution to political philosophy is the array of fact and argument by which he shows that universal suffrage (at any rate in communities such as those we live in), is a deadly enemy to representative or parliamentary institutions, through its effect in steadily lowering the character of the members of the representative body; this, under its influence, tending more and more to represent only the widespread longing of the ignorant and improvident to rob the thrifty, to undermine the security of contract and property, and, wherever law or liberty stands in their way, to blot them out. The case against universal suffrage rests mainly on observation of the unquestionable facts, first, that while we have numerous instances of legislatures of the first rank produced by a restricted suffrage, we have none whatever of any such body produced by universal suffrage; second, that, in several cases, parliamentary bodies of the first rank have run down *pari passu* with the extension of the suffrage. We may leave out the British Parliament, because the suffrage is not yet there entirely divorced from property, and many of the most prominent men in English politics obtained their entrance into public life while the suffrage was still narrow. Mr. Lecky is of opinion that deterioration in the House of Commons has set in, but there are plenty of other clearer instances. Italian, Austrian, Belgian, and Dutch Parliaments, elected by a high suffrage, have produced creditable legislation; in all these countries, since the basis of the suffrage has been greatly extended, there is a marked deterioration in public life. In France it is notorious that the character of the representative body has steadily declined until even the cabinets which it produces are cabinets of nobodies. It is in the United States, however, that the evil effects of universal suffrage on legislation are most clear; and Mr. Lecky's case is here even more telling than he knows it to be. The Senate, which, so long as it remained composed of men whose opening to public life had been furnished by a property suffrage, was a body remarkable all over the world for the ability and character of its members, has, since the full effects of universal suffrage have come into play, grown to be an impotent and ignorant body, which can no longer be relied upon either to originate good proposals of its own, or to impede vicious legislation set on foot in the House of Representatives. If it is said in reply to this that the Senate is not elected by universal suffrage, but by the States, the answer cannot be allowed to have much weight, because the bodies which select Senators in the various States are themselves the product of universal suffrage. The character of the State Legislatures is too notorious to permit dispute. In this State, with its six millions of inhabitants, containing the chief city and commercial capital of the country, the men who make up the Legislature are obscure local politicians, most of whom no one would employ in private business of any kind. They debate nothing, but pass bills under the orders of a dealer in votes, who sells legislation like any South American dictator, and in many cases passes bills by the aid of members of the party nominally opposed to him in return for promises of place. The system in New York is, however, only a grotesque exaggeration of evils which every State capital illustrates. So far from the public having any confidence in a legislature, every recent constitution is full of provisions, dictated by the most profound distrust, restricting its powers in every direction.

On these facts, the case against universal suffrage, so far as it affects representative institutions, is a strong one; it is, we may add, reinforced if a different method is employed, and we inquire into the ultimate causes of the process we see going on about us. Why and how does universal suffrage produce its effects? The answer is, we believe, very simple. A popular vote is of two sorts: it decides a question, or it elects a person to office. The referendum, and our frequent votes on constitutional questions, are illustrations of the former, and the answer of universal suffrage to the questions propounded is, according to our experience, not generally unwise. When it comes, however, to electing to office, universal suffrage can do nothing more than decide between two candidates put up by a small number of managers. The theory of popular institutions is that candidates are brought forward by a sort of automatic natural selection of the fittest. A is observed by his neighbors to be a wise, prudent man, who talks and argues well, and manages affairs intrusted to him skilfully; his neighbors, knowing that a new legislature is shortly to be elected, discuss the advisability of sending A to it, and in this way A becomes a candidate. As a matter of fact, except in extreme cases, the deliberation of the voter is confined to the question whether he shall vote for one of two parties; and what a popular election decides is which of two parties shall carry on the government. The selection of the candidate is left to a small body of managers, who will generally put up as candidates men no better than themselves. So long as the suffrage is based on property, the managers of the machine will come from the propertied classes, and will select men who are fairly representative of those classes; as soon as suffrage is based on mere numbers, the machinery of politics falls into the hands of a much lower class, and necessarily the level of candidates falls too. Ignorance, so far as it is vested with power, tends to drive out intelligence, just as a debased currency tends to drive out gold.

But this tendency is greatly aggravated among us by our practice of making all offices elective for short terms. Constant elections have the effect of increasing the importance of those who manage the machinery, especially in cities, where it soon gets to be out of the question for a voter to have much voice in the selection of candidates without abandoning all other business and taking to politics as a calling. This, of course, in such a condition of government, involves consequences from which the better class of voters shrink. In the end we have the machine as we know it, with a boss at its head, which virtually carries on the government; the representative system has shrunk to a form, and the members of the Legislature, though elected by the people, are really the boss's hired men. What would come next we can only guess; but we know that the aim of the more intelligent bosses has always been to transfer the system to Washington, where it would logically end in a machine dictatorship, controlling a Presidential puppet just as Governors are now sometimes controlled, tempered by occasional revolts and reform movements. The forms of popular representative government would be kept up, but for the benefit of one man or a small group of men.

Such is the case against universal suffrage—perhaps we might say (since the democratic principle, once introduced, seems always to lead to universal suffrage), the case against democracy—stated as strongly as we can put it. No American of mature years can read Mr. Lecky's book without feeling that the experience of his own country furnishes a great deal of the strongest proof in it. But it must not be supposed from this that Mr. Lecky's volumes are intended primarily as a warning to us. On the contrary, his thesis is that the country in which the effects of the introduction of pure democracy will be most felt is his own. In the United States, as he points out, following Sir Henry Maine and most modern writers on the subject, the Constitution imposes checks upon the Legislature of which the most important are the veto and other powers of the Executive and the high authority vested in the judiciary, which for ever prevents the legislative bodies produced by universal suffrage from interfering (as their nature would lead them to do) with the foundations on which society rests—*i. e.*, property, contract, and liberty. In England no such checks exist. Parliament is supreme, and there is nothing to prevent universal suffrage from sending to Westminster a House of Commons which will pass any measures—no matter how subversive of the elementary principles of justice and civilization—demanded by a temporary majority. Nay, according to Mr. Lecky, this has already been done, the whole series of measures regulating rent and the relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland being in the nature of confiscation. This part of the book, while no doubt very effective as a Conservative argument in England, deals with a case the exceptional character of which prevents its being so weighty as the author would have us believe. Most English Liberals would refuse to admit that the principles of recent Irish land legislation were applicable to England, Scotland, and Wales. What Mr. Lecky calls confiscation they call justice; party feeling still colors every one's judgment about the matter. No English Liberal can deny, however, the force of the abstract reasoning. An omnipotent Parliament elected by universal suffrage must pass whatever measures a majority demands. There is no written constitution under which the courts can declare laws invalid because they violate the obligation of contracts or make life, liberty, or property insecure; consequently, were this tendency unchecked, there would be no country in the world where the future of liberty and free institutions of law and government would be as dark as in England.

The sum and substance of this part of the book, then, is that the condition of free institutions in the United States is an awful warning to England of her fate if she becomes entirely democratic. In such a case her Par-

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liament will furnish a machine to promote the ends of demagogues, socialists, agrarians, and communists, the like of which the world has never seen. The conclusion is one which we cannot on our side any longer maintain to be wholly unreasonable. We can no longer say, Come to the United States and we will show you a pure democracy, where the offices are filled by the most capable men; where the taxation is the lightest in the world; where there are no schemes of spoliation in the air; where there are no great inequalities of fortune, no talk of foreign war, and where the dreams of the martyrs of liberty through the ages of oppression, cruelty, and superstition have at length been made true in the life of a free and happy people. On the contrary, we are confronted by problems very like those which, according to Mr. Lecky, confront England.

The question is, what is to be done; and, curiously enough, the remedies which the friends of liberty and good government recommend to check the ravages of the disease are fundamentally not unlike in the two countries. In both, what is dreaded is the behavior of popular legislative bodies. No one in England now fears the Crown or the courts; no one in this country fears the Executive, while the courts are our main reliance against legislation. In both countries tendencies are at work which, unchecked, must sap the life-blood of free institutions. In both countries conservatives instinctively turn for relief to those parts of the Constitution which reinforce permanence in institutions. One of the things threatened is property; therefore, by all means, they say, stick to property suffrage where it still exists, and strengthen and improve in every way the House of Lords, which represents property most distinctly. In this country, having the courts to help us, what we do is to restrict the power of the Legislature in every possible way —by limiting more and more the number of subjects over which it has jurisdiction, by curtailing as far as possible its powers of taxation, and by reducing the frequency of its sessions; so, we lengthen the terms of governors, mayors, and judges, and, wherever the judiciary is non-elective, keep it so. We can hardly admit it to be "the theory of American statesmen," as Mr. Lecky sardonically observes, "that the persons elected on a democratic system are always likely to prove dishonest, but that it is possible by constitutional laws to restrict their dishonesty to safe limits" (vol. i., p. 103.) We simply do what we believe our race has invariably done, when power has been insufferably abused by one branch of the Government; we restrict it, take it away altogether, or lodge it elsewhere. This is exactly what Mr. Lecky would do in England. It is all that any one can do, for the step backwards from democracy to privilege will not be taken through a democratic suffrage. Finally, it must not be overlooked that, in this country, we correct the evils produced by universal suffrage in one direction by the very same agency operating in another. All our modern constitutional changes are the products of universal suffrage.

So far as Mr. Lecky's book deals with the *tendency* of universal suffrage to ruin representative bodies and through them to produce other evils, his position seems to us impregnable. But it must be remembered that politics is not a science of demonstration. We may point out a tendency, but there are always so many forces at work that we cannot be sure how far the tendency will produce its extreme logical effect. Nothing is so certain as that an elective judiciary in a city like New York tends to produce corruption on the bench; yet nothing is more certain, either, than that the judiciary here is to-day, after two generations of elective judges, better than it was twenty-five years ago. Nor can it be assumed that because democracy is introduced in a country, and a generation or two later we find a great many tendencies at work which all seem to point to the disruption of the ties of family, to the undermining of the foundations of property and contract, and to rendering life and liberty insecure, and corrupting the administration of justice, all these consequences are the results of democracy only. Divorce is rife among the well-to-do classes in this country, but it has not been forced upon them by universal suffrage.

Mr. Lecky draws a picture of the state of society in this country which is far from flattering, though it does not differ from that which is reflected in the press every day, and leaves it to be inferred that it is more or less a consequence of universal suffrage. We should be inclined to say that it was the consequence of a great variety of causes, and that of the amount of weight to be given to universal suffrage in producing the result no man can judge. Besides this, the argument from consequences is a weapon which the believer in democracy can also use. If it is to be assumed that the present condition of the most advanced societies of the world is to be attributed, as a whole, to the spread of democratic ideas, we must, to judge fairly of the effect, go back at least to the condition in which the world was while privilege still ruled it. We have also an example of that world still left, existing on an enormous scale, in the Russian Empire. If we go back a hundred and fifty years, it existed all over the world. The old world was not governed democratically, but by the very classes which in theory should always produce fitness, ability, and zeal in government—the educated, the holders of property, long-established families. These classes had the power, and, what is more, had enjoyed it for ages, and were supported in its enjoyment by churches which had a hold upon conduct such as no religious bodies now have. Had they provided even decent government for mankind, democracy might never have established its claim to a hearing. As it was, they produced for justice widespread tyranny and corruption, for peace constant war, for liberty and happiness endless misery among large classes of those dependent on them. The equality of man was no doubt a dream, but it awakened the world, and, bringing democracy with it, set on foot those stupendous changes which have made the world of to-day, if not a paradise, at least a place where we are free to make of our lives what our faculties permit.

We have not a word to say against the truth of the picture of the evils of the state of society in which we live, but inasmuch as the old system produced a condition of things to relieve the world from which democracy had to be invoked, and inasmuch as democracy appears to be established as firmly on its throne as autocracy or the privilege of the educated minority ever was, we are thankful to believe that even the baleful and poisonous influence of ignorant and irresponsible suffrage is counteracted by other forces powerful enough to triumph in the end, and to justify those who still refuse to believe that man's inevitable alternative is either anarchy or privilege resting on force. If universal suffrage were potent enough to blot out again the freedom and justice and equal rights to attain which whole generations have laid down their lives, then would our last state be indeed worse than the first; for even hope would be gone.

LAST POEMS OF MARGARET OF NAVARRE.

Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre, publiées pour la première fois, avec une introduction et des notes, par Abel Lefranc, secrétaire du Collège de France. [Publication de la Société d'Histoire Littéraire de France.] Paris: Armand Colin & Cie. 8vo, pp. lxxvii, 461.

In 1547 there was published a collection of compositions in verse—they scarcely deserve to be called poems—entitled 'Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses.' This Margaret, ".the pearl of princesses," was that Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I., whose name in literature is distinguished chiefly as the author of the 'Heptameron.' Any one who has read aright this last-mentioned work, and has judged it intelligently, feels little surprise in finding that "les marguerites" of the Queen are chiefly expressions in various forms and at considerable length of the sincerest religious emotion. Mingled with poems of this character are others of a less serious cast, but all have such fervor and such tenderness that they reflect as in a mirror the sweet and noble mind of their writer.

The "Marguerites" were reprinted twenty years ago under the editorship of M. Félix Frank, and met with warm appreciation among their modern readers. That the four beautiful little volumes contained all Margaret's important poems was not questioned. It was known that some minor ones still remained among the manuscripts of the Arsenal and of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and extracts from them had been given by one and another student of the Queen's works; but no one suspected that a considerable part, and not the least interesting, of her poetical writings was still unknown. The discoveries that are made in the great libraries of to-day by literary explorers have a blending of chance and research that is the perfection of good fortune, and he would be a dullard who did not sympathize with the emotion M. Lefranc confesses he felt when, working five years ago at the Bibliothèque Nationale, he found in his hands a manuscript which no man had read, it would seem, since, three centuries and a half ago Jeanne d'Albret laid its leaves in an iron box with solid fastenings.

They were her mother's last writings; most of them probably composed in the less than three years that elapsed between the death of King Francis—the blow which killed Margaret—and her own death in 1549, at the not old age of fifty-seven years. And it is not strange that as Margaret, during this very period, had made a selection of her poems and given it to the world, her daughter should have felt that these were not then to be published, and, putting them away, put them out of her thoughts. One can easily believe that the expressions of her mother's eager, open, tender, feminine intelligence did not appeal to the rigidities and severities of Jeanne's masculine nature; and whether Margaret was or was not a Roman Catholic in her belief, she was a true Catholic in the larger sense, while Jeanne was a true Protestant, to whom Margaret's immense and persistent liberality must have been entirely unwelcome. Nowhere does Margaret's generosity of intellectual appreciation find fuller and finer expression than in these Last Poems. So her daughter locked them up; and now they are unlocked. As we read them

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now, it must be with shame that the heights from which Margaret speaks are still so far above the common paths of the world; but this sweet, clear voice that sings this perpetual song of Love, Love, Love, will, it cannot be doubted, find responsive hearts.

Margaret's iteration and reiteration of the need of Love, the joy of Love, shapes itself into a "comedy" contained in this volume with a gracefulness and fineness unusual for her. For it must be said that her verse for the most part is very inartistic: weak in form and sadly wordy. Every word is gracious, but there are so many of them! A great deal of her verse is only serious doggerel, and has no poetic quality. She evidently wrote it as easily and as carelessly as one talks; it is, in truth, simply rapid talking to herself, and, just because it is so, it is a singularly interesting reflection of her mind. But this little "comedy"—"une Comédie jouée au Mont de Marsan, le jour de caresme prenant mil cinq cens quarante sept, a quatre personnages, c'est assavoir la Mondainne, la Superstitieuse, la Sage et la Raine de l'amour de Dieu, bergère"—this little "morality" has great charm. The four lovely women who circle about one another, with mutually clasping and unclasping hands—La Mondainne, who loves her body, and asks to be asked why, and says why in the sweetest manner; La Superstitieuse, who is going on a holy pilgrimage; La Sage, who knows that man is both body and soul; and La Raine de Dieu, a shepherdess who feels

"Qui vit d'amour a bien le cueur joieulx"

—these fair figures, and their courteous and pretty and wise and high sayings, take the heart captive. M. Lefranc has noted that Margaret inclined to make use of the form of dialogue, and remarks with discernment that this form was better fitted than any other to show forth all the "nuances" of her thought (and, it may be added, the many sides of her thought), and, also, to save any necessity of formulating explicit personal conclusions regarding the subjects of universal interest she treats. This may be observed in the 'Heptameron,' where the conversations are far more interesting and important than the stories to which they serve as prologues and epilogues.

But the longest and most important poem in this volume—175 pages long—is a narrative entitled "Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre," in which phrase the "de" may be taken to mean not "the work of," but strictly "of," the prisons in which had been imprisoned the Queen of Navarre—"My Prisons," as she herself thought of them. It is not material prisons of which she writes—she was never literally a prisoner; but, perhaps because the imprisonments of others had throughout her life been a cause of anguish to her, she is apt to use the figure of spiritual prisons. For example, in a letter to her nephew Henri II., written just after the death of the King, her brother, she speaks of her many sufferings:

"Sans riens compter maladie et ennuys
Les jours mauvais et les fascheuses nuictz
De moy, des miens voiages et prisons,
Pertes, regrectz, crainctes et trahisons."

In more than one passage of the poem now spoken of is the sentiment expressed with ardor, "Ubi spiritus, ibi libertas," and it may be mentioned, in passing, as an interesting little fact, that this motto is worked on several pieces of tapestry executed by Margaret herself (who had pleasure always in this sort of work, and did much of it), and is especially to be remarked on a dais of black velvet and crimson satin which belonged to her, and was very probably made by her own hands. This piece of work is called in several 16th-century inventories of the Château de Pau (where apparently it is still in existence) the "Dais des Prisons rompus," which gives it a close connection with this poem, and is a confirmation of the poem's authenticity which it is surprising that M. Lefranc does not point out.

The story she tells here is of three prisons successively dwelt in by her—three delightful prisons, in each of which she was perfectly happy—the prison of Earthly Love; that of Ambition, Riches, and Pleasure, or, in general terms, of Worldliness; and the prison of Science—that is, of Earthly Knowledge. From each of these prisons in turn she is delivered by the Grace of God, and each of them in turn becomes not hateful to her—never that—but something inferior to the liberty, the perfect liberty, she at last attains in the Love of God. The details, too numerous to be here entered upon, are often of great interest, especially in the portion describing her rapturous enjoyment of Learning, which is all fragrant with the fresh breezes of the Renaissance. The whole poem is a Renaissance rendering—the Renaissance checkered with the Reformation—of the subject-matter of Tennyson's "Palace of Art," and in conception it is more subtle, more profound, and far more sincere than the modern poet's picturing of the dealings of the Divine Spirit with the Human Soul. Not musical in sound, it is singularly musical in thought—that is, its "motives" are music-like in their vague yet piercing suggestiveness.

It is addressed, almost unquestionably, to her second husband, Henri d'Albret, though under the disguise of a man addressing a woman. This disguise Margaret often adopted, and it was more permissible in her day than in ours, when a width of intellectual scope is granted to women such as Margaret could not claim without apparent presumption. Another reason, also, probably influenced her in this instance. Her first prison of Earthly Love she describes as of her own creation, the walls made impassable and the bolts and bars riveted for his sake whom trustworthy eyewitnesses of her life say she loved at first with tender passion, as was her nature, and treated to the last with admirable respect, through all the sad twenty years of their union, though he (eleven years, alas! her junior) showed her constant disregard and unkindness. From the beginning, probably, the one who was loved was the man, the one who loved was the woman, and till the world recognizes that this is great Nature's will, there must be something of mortification for the woman in this relation, and Margaret's assumption here of a man's dress is easily explicable.

In the closest possible spiritual connection with this first "prison" is another poem of twenty-one "dixains," "Les Adieux"; her adieus to all the dear delightfulnesses of her love. She speaks now in her own person, uttering such poignant grief with such magnanimous sweetness and noble tenderness that these pages are certainly among the most touching ever written by a woman. Among the other "poésies" of this volume is a long dialogue between the Queen and her dead brother, and a "comedy" on his death, "sur le trespas du Roy." The last words of the "comedy," sung by all the personages, "Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala autem quare non sustineamus, sicut Domino placuit? Ita factum est. Sit nomen Dei benedictum"—these words are echoed from every page of the Queen's writings. And, such being the case, the mysticism, the obscurity in which she often veils her lofty aspirations, is of small consequence to those who care for her chiefly as a peculiarly womanly woman. Those who care for her as a *thinker* (M. Lefranc, for example) must needs pull the cloth hard—so hard that it almost or quite cracks. To speak of "the splendor of her intellect," as some of her editors are pleased to do, is as unfitting as to talk of "the splendor of her beauty," as they also do. Her plain face, where the vigor of the great Valois nose was blended, in her youth, with the timidity of her small eyes, and, in her age, with the kindliness of her mobile mouth, charmed by its expressiveness, and was in harmony with the Bearnais costume, almost the dress of a widow, which she always wore, even at Court, after the death of her only son. In like manner, the charm of her verses, robed in their quaint phraseology, is largely a matter of sentiment; their value is dependent on the reader. A somewhat intimate knowledge of her life is needed to place one in sympathetic relation with them. There are scarcely a dozen pages which, from their own merits, reward attention and deserve permanence. Her verses are as mortal as herself, for they are herself. In comparing her effusions with those of George Herbert, with whom she had much in common, one recognizes what "the Elizabethan age" did for its minor poets. Margaret was trained in the school of Marot. Traces of her reading appear in this volume, as in her other works, especially of her studies of Plato and Dante. She refers by name to Dante, and a fine passage of the "Prisons," the meeting of the traveller among supernal things with "un vieillart" is a (perhaps unconscious) copy of the "veglio solo" of the first canto of the "Purgatorio."

One becomes almost as prolix as herself in writing of her; it is because, as M. Félix Frank has well said, "she was one of those rare beings who are loved in death through the mists of ages."

My Confidences: An Autobiographical Sketch Addressed to My Descendants. By Frederick Locker-Lampson. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1896.

To a certain extent this book disarms criticism. It is not, we are told, intended as a contribution to literature, but simply to preserve for the writer's own descendants such little notices and anecdotes of two or three of their progenitors as will probably be interesting to them, if not to the public; and if they are printed in a volume, instead of being left in manuscript, it is because this is the only way to assure their preservation. He even doubts whether the present inheritors of the name will care much about them, but projects his vision into a dim future when, to some remote descendant of an antiquarian turn, they may be precious fragments of salvage. This is a quite intelligible feeling. If the present writer possessed an authentic record to the effect that an ancestor of his own once saw Ben Jonson at the Mermaid, and heard him say, in his big voice, "Drawer, more sack," he would be immensely proud of the fact, and would be pained to think that it could ever be totally forgotten.

Mr. Locker came of a family respectable rather than distinguished—London men of business, with some literary tastes. His grandfather entered the navy, rose in the service, at one time had both Nelson and Collingwood under his command, and seems to have been one of the best specimens of that lost type, the old sea-captain. Mr. Locker's father was attached to the navy in a civil capacity, and an interest-

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ing letter from him is here given, describing an interview with Napoleon at Elba. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, a distinguished divine, and a rather conspicuous figure in Maryland colonial history. Mr. Boucher was eminent not only for piety, learning, and eloquence, but for his undaunted and uncompromising loyalism. His last sermon was preached at Annapolis, when Revolutionary passion was wildest, and with a pair of pistols lying on the desk, and concluded with a defiant "God save the King!"

Mr. Locker himself was born at Greenwich Hospital, of which his father was a resident commissioner, in 1821. His parents intended him for a professional career, but the boy, though a good cricketer, and with rather a knack of turning off English verses, could never take kindly to Latin; so that scheme had to be given up, and a clerkship was obtained for him in the Admiralty. Here it was that he made his first public venture in poetry with 'London Lyrics,' light, easy, and graceful pieces, which are still pleasantly remembered, and deserve to be. These brought him to the notice of Thackeray, who asked him to write for the *Cornhill*. His marriage, in 1850, to Lady Charlotte Bruce, a great favorite at court, introduced him to very distinguished people indeed, and seems to have wrought an improvement in his fortunes, as the Admiralty drops out of sight, and we find him travelling like a man of leisure, wintering in Italy, and collecting rare majolica and *editiones principes*, to say nothing of paying £100 for a missing leaf of the First Folio. Even early in the sixties this sort of thing took a long purse.

After the death of his wife, in 1866, followed by the mention of his remarriage (to Miss Lampson) in 1874, the book loses much of its autobiographical character, and is made up of little disconnected sketches of persons and occurrences, apparently written for separate publication at various times. The last chapter, in which he describes himself in a pleasant country home, cheerfully awaiting the end, is at once pleasing and touching; and the whole book, if a little disappointing, leaves one with a distinct image of a bright, cheery, and amiable personality.

The Story of the Indian. By George Bird Grinnell. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co. 1895. 8vo, pp. 270.

In this volume Mr. Grinnell has brought together his recollections of the manners and customs, religion, etc., of certain tribes with which he seems to have lived. His object, so we are told, was "to give only a general view of Indian life"; and if, in carrying out this plan, he has found it necessary to descend into particulars (as, *e. g.*, when describing scenes he has witnessed and repeating stories he has heard), it is because "the concrete example conveys a clearer idea of an event than an abstract statement, and because the story of the Indian should not be told wholly from the point of view of a race alien in thought, feeling, and culture." To this explanation of his purpose and of his proposed manner of work there can be no objection. In fact, the knowledge which long association with the Indians has given him of their character, has enabled him to prepare an account which differs, in certain respects, from the usually received ideas, but which may, perhaps for this very reason, help us to understand the methods of thought and lines of conduct that characterize our red neighbors.

Take, for instance, what is said of their ideas of marriage and about the position of woman among them. Instead of being the drudge and slave she is sometimes painted, we find that she occupied a well-defined and "respectable" position, and that not only was she consulted upon household and family matters, but that (p. 107), upon occasion, she was called into the tribal council and her opinions asked. Unquestionably, her life was hard and full of toil, and so, for that matter, in early times, was the life on the frontier of her white sister; but, in spite of certain drawbacks, she seems to have found time (pp. 26, 46, etc.) to gossip, dance, and gamble, and, on the whole, she managed (p. 47) to get a good deal of pleasure in life. Even in her marriage, the presents (p. 40) which passed between the parents of the contracting parties, and which are usually spoken of as the price paid for the woman, sometimes found their way back to the newly wedded pair. Evidently, in a case of this kind, there was no question of bargain and sale. It was simply another, and, so far as etiquette required the presents to be of equal value, an ingenious, way of increasing the dowry with which the young people began housekeeping. But even if this were not so and the marriage was a virtual sale on the part of the woman's father, as it sometimes was, there was a foundation of common sense in the Indian's view of the matter. "Marry a man who is willing to give something for you," said an Omaha mother to her daughter; and whether we regard this gift as a measure of the woman's value or of the man's love, it is, perhaps, as satisfactory a test as are the protestations that often, under similar circumstances, pass current with us.

In the matter of religion the account is not so clear. As well as we can gather from our author's somewhat incongruous statements, the Indian's pantheon was inhabited by an indefinite number of gods, or rather supernatural agencies, of different degrees of power. They were neither uniformly good nor bad, but sometimes one and sometimes the other; and they could be placated by prayers and sacrifices. All nature was alive with them; and every Indian had some such power—medicine, it is generally called—to watch over and protect him. Thus far all is plain sailing, and, as it agrees with what we know of Indian ideas, we accept it. But when we are told (p. 202) that before the Pawnees had been greatly changed by contact with civilization, they regarded *Atius Tirawa*—the head of their supernatural hierarchy—"as an intangible spirit, omnipotent and beneficent," we respectfully call a halt, for the reason that ideas like these belong to a phase of development in advance of that which the Indian had reached. With all due respect, we prefer, on this point, to follow Dunbar, who tells us (in his sketch of the Pawnees), that "it was very doubtful whether their conception of Ti-ra-wa could be rightfully called a conception of a spiritual being at all. It was rather an indistinct being with certain human attributes indefinitely magnified." "All success," we are furthermore told, "was regarded as an expression of his favor, and all disappointment or failure as a betokening of his disapprobation. He was changeable like themselves"; and although "stoutly affirming that they loved him a great deal, yet they evidently feared him," which they would hardly have done if he had been looked upon as a purely beneficent being.

Naturally enough, in a volume consisting in part, as this does, of "many memories" of different tribes, slips and incongruities are almost inevitable. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find not only that there is an occasional clash between certain "general views," but that there is also, at times, a flat contradiction between some particular general view and its concrete example. Take, for instance, the statement (p. 54) that the buffalo must have been well-nigh invulnerable to the stone-headed arrow, and it cannot be reconciled with what we are told (p. 152) of the power of the bow in old times. Moreover, it does not agree with what Cabeza de Vaca and others tell us of the trade in buffalo robes, which, in early times, the Indians of the plains carried on with their neighbors. So, too, the struggle for existence, severe as it may have been in certain quarters (pp. 53, 56), can hardly have been general if the Southeastern tribes (p. 248) "found little or no difficulty in supporting life." Of the same character and even more objectionable is the assertion (p. 125) that, within the historic epoch, the Indians, in war, killed "women and children as gladly as men," etc. The statement is general, and yet not only is it not true of certain tribes east of the Mississippi, but on p. 139 we are told that the Piegans, in a skirmish with the Crows and Gros Ventres, in which they were victorious, killed the men but took the women and boys prisoners, and, we may add, adopted them.

These instances (and there are others of the same sort) indicate the character of the conclusions to which we object; and our purpose in calling attention to them is not so much to criticise this particular volume as it is to sound a note of warning against the danger of indulging in generalities. Like ourselves, the Indians, considered either as individuals or in their tribal capacities, differed in many respects; and while these differences were of degree rather than kind, yet it would be difficult to give expression, save in the broadest possible terms, to a formula that would include all of them. Thus, while it is probably safe to say that there was but one phase of civilization from the St. Lawrence to Panama, yet if called upon to depict the constituent elements of this civilization in phraseology that would apply to tribes differing as widely as did the Iroquois and the Aztecs, we should find it as impossible as it would be to represent home life in Fifth Avenue and at the Five Points on one and the same canvas.

The History of the Australasian Colonies. By Edward Jenks. [Cambridge Historical Series.] Macmillan. 1895.

As Prof. Jenks remarks in the opening sentence of his preface, "No sane person would attempt to write a complete history of Australasia in 300 pages." Within the limits that he has assigned himself his own work is admirable. It is clear, condensed to a necessary if almost fatiguing extent, thoughtful, unprejudiced, and characterized by a refreshing absence of rhetoric. We have set before us in a brief form the circumstances of the foundation of each of the Australasian colonies, with the difficulties it had to contend against, and the story of how they were successfully overcome till present prosperity was reached. If we find it hard to remember distinctly all that we read, the fault lies not so much with the author as with the necessity he was under of telling many things in a small space, and also with a certain sameness in several of the facts that he relates. Concise as he is, his last chapter, that on "Present Day Questions," is the only one that strikes us as inadequate, and here he has obviously retrenched, owing to "limits of space, already somewhat exceeded."

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The histories of the different Australasian colonies have been in the main similar and not startlingly eventful. The first stage was usually military rule, penal settlements, and a small free population which for a time did not raise its own means of subsistence. Soon the number of immigrants increased, as they became self-supporting, then prosperous; while some governors greatly helped, others rather retarded progress. After a time, colonists were appointed to the Legislative Councils, which were given a certain authority; later, they were elected to these councils, and finally granted their present nearly complete self-government. Among the most important dates of this development are 1788, when the colony of New South Wales was founded; 1805, the year in which the wool-growing industry began; 1851, when gold was discovered. In 1823 we find the first Australasian constitution, in 1842 the first representative one. In 1855-56 responsible government was introduced into all the colonies except West Australia, which did not get it until 1890, being also the last to be abandoned as a penal settlement (1865), and even then not by its own desire but in deference to the clamor of its neighbors. The next great step will be some sort of a federation.

In a century the progress of Australia has been most remarkable. Mr. Jenks thus comments on it and its results:

"In this colonization there has been scarcely one of the difficulties which have threatened other attempts. The colonists have (with trifling exceptions) been all of one nation. Save in New Zealand, there has been no serious native opposition to face. The mother country has poured out her treasure and her brains for the service of her favorite children. No tax has been laid upon Australian industry for the benefit of English merchants. The outflowings of a populous and a free country have provided a generous stream of vigorous immigrants. A genial climate and a fruitful soil have rewarded honest effort with a liberality which is the best incentive to further effort. . . . Therefore the immediate prosperity has been great. But it does not follow that the prosperity has been without its dangers. The success of Australian endeavors hitherto has produced a buoyancy which too often degenerates into recklessness, a generosity which is sometimes perilously akin to extravagance. The good results which, in really sterling characters, follow upon a period of struggle and adversity, have not had an opportunity of manifesting themselves in Australia. The visitor is struck with the absence of originality in the life. It is almost a reproduction of English life a few years before. Instead of stepping forward ten years, as he expects, when he lands on the shores of Australia, he seems to have slipped ten years back. The so-called originality of Australian politics amounts principally to this, that the reform party in Australia has succeeded in doing what the reform party in England has only tried to do. There are few new ideas; the colonists have brought a fairly complete stock of ideas with them, and they have seen no reason to change them."

One point that we must be careful not to forget is the difference between New Zealand and her sisters; a difference in climate and in natural features, as well as in the character and number of the natives with whom the settlers have had to deal; therefore "the development of New Zealand has been at a slower rate than that of Australia, though on much the same lines. But even this difference is a factor of vast importance, for a different rate of development produces a different character of development."

Another fact is especially deserving of attention: British colonies, in distinction from those of other countries, are popularly supposed to be due almost entirely to unrestricted private enterprise. The history of Australia does not help to confirm this view. "New South Wales, with the costs of transport, assistance to free emigrants, provision against famine, salaries of civil and military officials, expense of public works, and other items, is reputed to have cost the mother country, in the first thirty-four years of its existence, no less than ten millions sterling." In return, the squatter was not allowed to appropriate the spot on which he settled. "The Crown quietly assumed the ownership of Australian land; and the assumption stood the strain, not merely of the rush for sheep pastures, but, which is far more wonderful, of the rush for gold. The advanced guard of the exploring colonists might burst into country never trodden by the foot of white man; but they could claim no acre of it except through the grant of the Crown." As for paternal care and legislation,

"at first the whole community lived upon Government rations. The Government supplied seeds and tools for the farm, and took all the settlers' produce at a fixed price. Often it engaged in farming operations on its own account. Medicine and clothing were dispensed from the Government offices. All the public works were undertaken on the initiative and carried out under the supervision of the Government. This state of things lasted at least until Macarthur showed what could be done by individual enterprise; and there is little doubt that it has given a powerful impulse to what is now called the State Socialism of the colonies. When the colonists took the administration into their own hands, they found a Government machinery capable of being used for all kinds of economic purposes, and a community long accustomed to look to Government for help and direction in economic enterprise."

A Handbook of British Lepidoptera. By Edward Meyrick, B.A., F.L.S., F.E.S., Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Macmillan & Co. 1895. 8vo, pp. 844, numerous figures.

THIS volume will be a surprise to the many in this country who have known of the author only as an earnest and successful worker in the lower families of the Lepidoptera. It is by far the best work of the kind, in its comprehensiveness and completeness, that has been given to the public. Stainton's 'Manual of the British Butterflies and Moths,' which has been a standard for nearly forty years, will be, to a great extent, superseded by it. The amount of information that has been condensed into this handbook (it can be held in the hand without the slightest fatigue) is marvellous. By its aid, any student of British Lepidoptera will be able to name his specimens with accuracy, to learn of their structure and be directed in their classification. The descriptive text of each one of the two thousand and sixty-one species, through a rigid system of abbreviation, has been limited to an average of a half-dozen lines, followed in most instances by a description of the larvæ in three or four lines, the time of their appearance, and the habitat, in all cases indicating such as occur in North America. Analytical keys lead readily to the larger groups, to families, to genera, and to species. Keys so complete have rarely, if ever, been given. The illustrations of venation and other structural characters of many of the genera have been drawn from the author's personal observations. An introductory chapter, treating of structure, classification, etc., is especially satisfactory.

A marked feature of this volume is the new classification, now for the first time published in its entirety, based on the author's study for years of the Lepidoptera of the world. To those of us who have not, during the last few years, been watching closely the forces at work in systematic entomology, particularly among the Lepidoptera, in their upheavals, disintegration, and reconstruction, it is rather startling to be asked to ignore the long familiar division of the Lepidoptera into "Butterflies" and "Moths"; to find the butterflies, as "Papilionidæ," flanked on each side in the middle of a volume, by moths, and next to the Pyralids—the Geometridæ, Sphingidæ, Saturniadæ, and the Notodontidæ, with others, grouped into a superfamily of "Notodontina"—the Ægeridæ among the "Tineina"—the stout-bodied Cossus of nearly three inches expanse of wings among the diminutive "Tortricina"; and, finally, to learn that the Lepidoptera, in all their beauty, variety, and seeming high rank, have their origin in the low, degraded, case-inhabiting aquatic larva of a caddis-fly. But all these incongruities and surprises must be accepted if it be admitted that a natural classification is preferable to an artificial one. A system would be natural if based on resemblances of allied genera and species resulting from community of descent, leading upward from the oldest to the latest developed. Mr. Meyrick holds that, beyond any doubt, the peculiar venation and other structural features of the wings of the Micropterygidæ—a small family of minute moths—show them to be the ancestral group of the Lepidoptera. According to three laws of control in the development of new organs or their subsequent loss, lines of descent have been worked out and indicated in diagrams showing the phylogeny of nine superfamilies (terminating in *ina*) in which the order of Lepidoptera is divided in this volume. In each of these, the phylogeny of the several families (ending in *idæ*) is similarly given. In tabulating the genera, their ordinal arrangement indicates the lines of descent, number one being the latest developed.

It will be seen from the above that the classification adopted is in accordance with the views advanced in Darwin's 'Origin of Species.' It has evidently been carefully elaborated by the author, beyond that presented by any other writer, and, unless it shall be shown faulty in any particulars, it will in all probability be generally accepted by American systematists. From the intimate relationship of the Lepidoptera of the United States to those of Great Britain—a number of species being common to the two countries and many others differing only by minute characters—this volume will be almost indispensable to American students of lepidopterology.

The Coming Individualism. By A. Egmont Hake and O. E. Wesslau. Macmillan & Co. 1895.

WHAT the coming individualism may be is not easy to determine from a perusal of this book; but the indications are that it must be something disagreeable. Such a farrago of querulous protests, of indiscriminate censure, and of unsupported assertions as we have here is not often encountered, and any reforms that are calculated to confer upon these joint authors greater liberty than they now enjoy should be accepted with a good deal of hesitation. The reader is moved by the same sort of exasperation that is felt at the misbehavior of a spoiled child, and becomes strong in his belief in the saving efficacy of corporal punishment and personal restraint. More's the pity, for protests against "collectivism" are badly needed in England, and it would be a matter of no great

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difficulty to make them effective; but so long as reformers persist in making reform odious by means of intemperate language and ill-considered assertions, so long will they fail to add to their numbers.

Yet whoever has patience with the mannerisms, or ill-mannerisms, of this composite authorship will find that it has reason on its side. The "Factory Acts" of England are the objects of a socialistic faith that amounts to fanaticism, and are constantly appealed to as demonstrating the necessity of restraining individual liberty by the state. As a matter of fact, the prosperity of the working classes of England was caused by free trade and not by restriction, and improved conditions of labor would inevitably have come if there had been no factory acts. So far as these acts were unquestionably beneficial, they did not restrain liberty, but overthrew a monstrous form of slavery—the apprenticing of pauper orphans to mill-owners. So far as they interfered with liberty, they were sturdily opposed by John Bright, and, until his character can be destroyed, the policy of the factory acts will require argument as well as dogmatic assertion to establish its wisdom.

One of the most amusing instances of the working of the protective measures which are creeping into English policy under the influence of the socialistic craze is afforded by the Merchandise Marks Act. The theory of this act was that the English would buy more English goods and less of foreign manufacture if they knew their origin, and hence it was prescribed that all foreign goods dealt in by English traders should be branded with the name of the country where they were made. The result was that the foreign customers of English merchants had their attention called to the fact that many of the goods which they bought were made in Germany and other countries, and it naturally occurred to them to dispense with the English middleman and to order directly from the foreign manufacturer, with whose existence the English Parliament had been at pains to acquaint them. At present the German manufacturers not only are securing this trade, but are actually ordering goods from English makers upon the superior qualities of which they have German names and addresses marked, while the poorer stuff is sent under the English brand. Such, at least, is the statement put forth in this book; but there are more sides than one to such a question.

Nothing seems more unlikely than that the English should change either their system of dealing with the traffic in strong drink or their banking laws, but these writers are not daunted by such considerations; nor is it wholly vain to protest against the most inveterate abuses, for only in this way can they be prevented from increasing. While we may not be convinced that the abolition of the monopoly of the Bank of England is desirable, it is well to be reminded of the objections that may be fairly raised against it, and in this country we evidently need to consider the subject from every point of view. We might say the same of the drink traffic, but it must be confessed that the wisdom of the policy of loading this business with all manner of burdens is firmly established in the minds of most people.

Altogether, this book will probably impress the reader with the idea that its authors are hopelessly wrong-headed; but, for all that, it may not be wholly unprofitable reading.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, C. C. Notes of the Night, and Other Outdoor Sketches. Century Co. $1.50.
Alexander, Mrs. A Winning Hazard. Appletons.
Ancon, Sir W. R. The Law and Custom of the Constitution. Part II. The Crown. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
Ayres, Alfred. The Verbalist. New and revised ed. Appletons.
Balzac, H. de. The Unknown Masterpiece, and Other Stories. London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. $1.50.
Barnes, James. For King or Country: A Story of the American Revolution. Harpers. $1.50.
Bartlett, Rev. E. T. The English Bible in American Eloquence. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.
Bastian, A. Die Denkschöpfung umgebender Welt aus kosmogonischen Vorstellung in Cultur und Uncultur. Berlin: F. Dümmler.
Beecher, Rev. Charles. Patmos: or, The Unveiling. Boston: Lee & Shepard. $1.50.
Birkmire, W. H. The Planning and Construction of American Theatres. London: Chapman & Hall; New York: John Wiley & Sons.
Blair, T. S. Human Progress. W. R. Jenkins. $1.50.
Blaisdell, A. F. Southey's Life of Nelson. Boston: Ginn & Co. 50c.
Bliss, W. R. Quaint Nantucket. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Boudinot, J. J. The Life, Public Services, Addresses, and Letters of Elias Boudinot, President of the Continental Congress. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $6.
Brachet, Auguste. A Historical Grammar of the French Language. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. $2.
Bright, Prof. William. The Roman See in the Early Church, and Other Studies in Church History. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.
Broadfoot, Major W. Billiards. [Badminton Library.] London: Longmans, Green & Co.; Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
Brodbeck, Adolph. The Ideal of Universities. New York: Metaphysical Publishing Co. $1.50.
Brown, Alice. By Oak and Thorn: A Record of English Days. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Buchanan, Robert. Effie Hetherington. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.50.
Budge, E. A. W. The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great. London: University Press; New York: Macmillan. $6.
Bumstead, S. J. The Peacemaker of Bourbon. G. W. Dillingham. 50c.
Carleton, William. Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry. Second Series. London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. $1.50.
Carroll, Rev. H. K. The Religious Forces of the United States. Revised ed. Christian Literature Co. $3.
Chalmers, James. The Sketch-Book. Silver, Burdett & Co.
Chambers, R. W. A King and a Few Dukes. Putnams. $1.25.
Chanler, W. A. Through Jungle and Desert: Travels in Eastern Africa. Macmillan. $5.
Chanter, Gratiana. The Witch of Withyford: A Story of Exmoor. Macmillan. 75c.
Chapple, J. M. The Minor Chord. F. T. Neely. 50c.
Chevrillon, André. In India. Henry Holt & Co. $1.50.
Clinghan, Clarice I. That Girl from Bogota. Home Publishing Co.
Cory, C. B. Hunting and Fishing in Florida. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
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